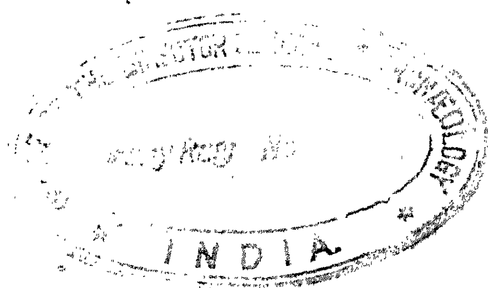


BOOK IV.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYÎ OF PÁṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH



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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Bt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.







ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-आप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or आप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikâra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sûtra points out the base प्रकृति to wich the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sûtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sûtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term आप्, is the common name for the three affixes टाप्, डाप् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sûtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sûtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samâhâra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sûtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhâtu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhâtu); and such bases remaining are prâtipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sûtra, when these prâtipadika &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sûtra arose from the following considerations: that the word ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् should qualify the words 'वृद्ध' 'अवृद्ध,' 'the letter अ,' 'अनुदात्तादि', and 'द्व्यच्,' wherever used in the following sûtras. So that, where a rule says: "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prâtipadika, or which ends with 'ṅi' or 'âp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares:—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed al all, come after the word that is signified *by the first of the words in construction.*" Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix फिञ् is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तस्यापत्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'âmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्', because the word 'jñânâm' the genitive plural of 'jña', is a Vṛiddha word? Certainly not, because the word 'prâtipadikât' must be read into this sûtra IV. I. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prâtipadika of 'jñânâm' is 'jña', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñâ' is a vṛiddham in its prâtipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञयो ब्राह्मन्योरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brâhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prâtipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'अवृद्ध' (sûtra IV. I. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prâtipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word अत् in Sûtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix इञ् is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prâtipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इञ्' will apply only to the word 'दक्षस्य' in 'दक्षस्यापत्यम् but will not apply to the words 'दक्षयोः', or 'दक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'दक्षयोरपत्यम्' or 'दक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इञ्' applies to all these three words.

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुदात्तादेः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अञ्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इञ्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'त्वचः' which in construction are anudâttâdi as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'त्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, त्वच्) are udâttâdi. And conversely, the affix 'अञ्,' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is udâttâdi, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is anudâttâdi.

(5). Similarly the word 'द्व्यचः' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'ठन्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its prâtipadika state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word घटेन in the phrase 'घटेन तरति', while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'त्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'त्वचा तरति'. But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'ṅy-âp' in the aphorism ? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ:—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." ?

A. Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, "this paribhasha is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a praticular prâtipadika, (such as the words श्वा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, ङी, आप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the Taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (ङी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्व' and 'माल' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'। After these words we can apply the Taddhita affix तरप्: as 'कालितरा', हरिणितरा,' खट्वातरा', and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'ṅy-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितरा ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ṅy-âp ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ṅy-âp, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्यांभिस्ङेभ्यांभ्यस्ङसिभ्यांभ्यस्ङसोसामङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम-औट्-शस्, टा-भ्यां-भिस्, ङे-भ्यां-भ्यस्, ङसि-भ्यां-भ्यस्, ङस् ओस्-आम, ङि-ओस्-सुप् (ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations ङी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭâ (â)	bhyâm	bhis
4th.	ṅe (e)	bhyâm	bhyas
5th.	ṅasi (as)	bhyâm	bhyas
6th.	ṅas (as)	os	âm
7th.	ṅi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like उ in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प is employed for the sake of forming the pratyâhâra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by ङीप्, as, कुमारी ; by ङीष् as, गौरी; by ङीन् as शार्ङ्गरवी ; by टाप् as खट्वा; by डाप् as बहुराजा; and by चाप् as कारीषगन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prâtipadika. as, दृषद् ।

कुमारी ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्योः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु

खट्वा ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायाः	खट्वयोः	खट्वानाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वयोः	खट्वासु

दृषद् ।

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	दृषद्	दृषदौ	दृषदः
2nd	दृषदम्	दृषदौ	दृषदः
3rd	दृषदा	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भिः
4tn	दृषदे	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भ्यः
5th	दृषदः	दृषद्भ्याम्	दृषद्भ्यः
6th	दृषदः	दृषदोः	दृषदाम्
7th	दृषदि	दृषदोः	दृषत्सु

The words गौरी and शार्ङ्गरवी are declined like कुमारी; and बहुराजा and कारीषगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikâra sûtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prâtipadika' should be read into this sûtra, from the first sûtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्'; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्प्रा०) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are इत्, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudâtta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अत् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory त् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtra should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालपा or शुभंया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभंयाः कीलालपाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmânî'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

1.	अज	अजा	2.	एडक	एडका	3.	कोकिल	कोकिला
4.	चटक	चटका	5.	अश्व	अश्वा	6.	मूषिक	मूषिका

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sûtra, the affix 'ṅîsh' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

7.	बाल	बाला	8.	होड	होडा	9.	पाक	पाका
10	वत्स	वत्सा	11	मन्द	मन्दा	12.	विलात	विलाता

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sûtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

13.	पूर्वापहरण,	पूर्वापहरणा;	14.	अपरापहारण	अपरापहारणा;

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being टित्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sûtra.

15.	संफल,	संफला;	16	भस्त्रफल;	भस्त्रफला;
17.	अजिनफल,	आजिनफला;	18.	शणफल,	शणफला;
19.	पिण्डफल,	पिण्डफला;	20.	त्रिफल,	त्रिफला;

N. B. The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix ṇîsh (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajâdi' class; 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला; when a Bahuvrîhi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

21.	सत्पुष्प,	सत्पुष्पा;	22.	प्राक्पुष्प,	प्राक्पुष्पा;
23.	काण्डपुष्प,	काण्डपुष्पा;	24.	प्रान्तपुष्प,	प्रान्तपुष्पा;
25.	शतपुष्प,	शतपुष्पा;	26.	एकपुष्प,	एकपुष्पा;

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken ṇîsh by IV. I. 64.

27. शूद्र शूद्रा

B. N. But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śûdra'; so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'.

The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. I. 72, but for the vârtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prâtipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". Therefore, the word 'śûdra' which cannot be anything but a prâtipadika, does not denote 'mahâ-śûdra'. This objection is futile: the very fact of this vârtika indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती

28. क्रुंच् क्रुंचा 29. उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30. देवविश् देवविशा

N. B. The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'टाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

B. N. The above words denoting matrimonial realtion would have taken the affix 'ṅîsh' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mûla' preceded by the negative particle naṅ, would have otherwise taken 'ṅîsh' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, (स्त्रियाम् ङ्याप्प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो नकारान्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई। Thus, कर्तृ ;—*f.* कर्त्री ; हर्तृ—*f.* हर्त्री ; दण्डिन् –*f.* दण्डिनी ; छत्रिन् ,—*f.* छत्रिनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग् इत् यत्रसंभवति यथा कथंचित् तदुगिच्छब्दरूपं, तदन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धातोरुगितः प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अंचते श्चोपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ऋ or ऌ) the affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyâhâra meaning उ, ऋ and ऌ। Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित्। That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prâtipadika pure and simple. not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanâmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित् ; similarly a letter may be उगित् as तृ meaning तृ in VI. 4. 127, ("तृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्वन् &c")

Thus, भवत् 'honored' sir.—*f.* भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचत् (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुम comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यजन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्वत् अर्वती 'a mare'.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots स्रंसु 'to fall down', ध्वंसु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ ; and we get from these roots, the paâtipadikas like उखास्रत् and पर्णध्वत्, (III. 2. 76). The उखास्रत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding ङीप्।

Vârt:—The prâtipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix ङीप्। As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उदीची ॥

वनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनः, र, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन्नन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययोभवति रेफश्चान्तादेशः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वनो न हशः ॥

7. The affix 'ङीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable वन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇâdi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f. पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शॄ + वनिप् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light. So also परलोकदृश्वरी ॥

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ङ्वनिप्, (III. 2. 103) क्वनिप् and वनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in न् and consequently would have taken ङीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sûtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Vârt:—If the affix वन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in हश्, (a letter of हश् pratyâhâha), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix ङीप् nor the change of न् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhman brother or sister in arms'. In शर्वन् the वन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of हश् class, but as वन् is not ordained to be applied to शर् but to शृ, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vârtika does not apply to such a case. Hence शर्वरी ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'ङीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pâd.'

The word पाद becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrîhi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (ङीप्). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

टाबृचि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टाप्, ऋचि, (स्त्रियां पादः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pâd', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattâ (a woman) having two feet'.

न षट् स्वस्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, षट्, स्वस्रादिभ्यः, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्रादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वसृ' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brâhmaṇî ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrâdi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः (ङीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्नन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix ङीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sûtra prohibits that. Thus दामन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows:—I. S. दामा; d. दामानौ, pl. दामानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇâdi IV. 144) in the words दामन् (दो + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhâsha:—अनिनस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are emyloped in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sûtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमहिमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनो बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, (स्त्रियां ङीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrîhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुपर्वन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुपर्वा, सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः; so also सुशर्मा, सुशर्माणौ and सुशर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penutimate अ of वन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrîhi compounds"? Because after any other compouds, this rule will not apply. As अतिराजन् is an Avyayîbhâva compound, its feminine will be अतिराजी ॥

डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, (मनः अनोबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्यां मनन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादनन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डाप्, the letter ड् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन्+डाप्=पाम्+आ=पामा, This being an optional rule we have 1. *s* पामा *d*, पामे or पामानौ, *pl*, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say "optionally" ? So that the option may apply to sûtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of ङीप् are optional · we may apply the affix डाप् instead. As :— बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी ; बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikâra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas'. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2. 43). Thus the next sûtra declares "the affix ṅîp is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट्, & c." Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix ट (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by ङीप् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—*f* मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrîhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा or बहुमद्रचरा मथुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, "the affix ङीष् is added after words denoting jâti" as, कुक्कुटी, शूकरी ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, 'ṅîsh' will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुटा बहुशूकरा मथुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sutra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sûtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhâna). But the present sûtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकारी, in as much as the second member here is pradhâna : the word 'kumbha-kâra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply ङीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sûtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्क्वरपः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसच्-दघ्नच्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्-कञ्-क्वरपः (अतः स्त्रियाम् ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टिदादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञ्स्नञ्कीकक्ख्युन्तरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or दघ्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टाप् of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f, मद्रचरी (चर+ई=चर्+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III. 2. 16). of which ट् is indicatory.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix ङीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix शानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicatory ट्, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicatory ट् (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not टित् as it has two indicatory letters, ल् and ट्'.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ल्युट् should also be called no टित् affixes, as they have also two indicatory letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ल्युट् be not regarded टित्, then the indicatory ट् of ल्युट् finds no scope any where: as the indicatory ट् of लट् has its scope in sûtra III, 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-

catory ट् of augments will not cause the application of the affix ङीप्; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not ई. This is indicated by sûtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment तुट् is added to the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल्". If the ट् of तुट् could have made the affix टित् for the purposes of this present sûtra; the anubandha ट् had been unnecessarily added to the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल in the above.

(2) Of words ending in ढ we have, m, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वैनतेयी. The ढ stands for the affix ढक्; and it is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा+ढक् (IV. 1. 120)=सुपर्णा+एय=सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely ढ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix, as said above, is ढक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is imployed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the ढ of this sûtra refers to the anubandha-less ढ of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अण्, we have already said that the affix अण् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'aṇ'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'aṇ' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'aṇ' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ण are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ण are not so treated, as ताण्डा, मौष्टा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औदपान, f. औदपानी, (IV. 1.86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sûtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीष् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63; that is even when 'jâti' is indicated, 'ṇîsh' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes द्वयसच्, दघ्नच् and मात्रच् are added by V. 2. 37; as, ऊरुद्वयसी, ऊरुदघ्नी, ऊरुमात्री 'reaching to the thigh'. Similraly जानुद्वयसी, जानुदघ्नी, जानुमात्री।

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ठक् (IV. 4. 1) as, आक्षिकी 'a female dicer', शालाकिकी. The ठ is replaced by इक (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in ठञ् (V. 1. 18): as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes ठक् and ठञ् are separately enumerated in this sûtra, in order to exclude the affix ठन् &c. For had the word ठ merely been used, then it would have meant all the *three* affixes ठक्, ठन् and ठञ, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III. 2. 60) as, यादृशी, तादृशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इत्वरी 'swift', नश्वरी ॥

Vârt:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and स्नञ् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकक् (IV. 4. 59) and ख्युन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तलुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रैणी 'a female', पौंस्नी 'a male', शाक्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यंकरणी 'enriching; तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'.

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + ङीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग् + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वैप्य of द्वीप + यञ् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वैप्या 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sûtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां ष्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, ष्फः, तद्धितः, (यञः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन यञन्तात् स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix ष्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'ṇish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'ṅish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prâtipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sûtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after आवट्य' ॥ Here आवट्य ends in यञ्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word आवट्य would have taken the affix ṅîp: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added. Thus आवट्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः, (यञः स्त्रियांष्फ)

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata', when they take the affix yañ.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105). The present sûtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prâtipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कपि, and not to the word कुरुकत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, शांसित्यायनी बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

Kârikâ कण्वात्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतादुत्तर इष्यते ।
पूर्वोत्तरौ तदन्तादी ष्फाणौ तत्र प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and अण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapâṭha after the word कण्व (See IV. 1. 105) should be regarded as if it stood immediately *before* कण्व and *after* कत ॥ Thus we have शाकल्यायनी (with ष्फ), and शाकलाः with अण्, meaning शाकल्यस्येमे छात्राः 'the pupils of Sâkalya'.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यांच ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्; च, (स्त्रियांष्फ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोरासुरेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words **कौरव्य** and **माण्डूक** ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV. 1. 4), but for the present sûtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of mâṇḍûka would have been formed by ṅîp (IV. 1. 15), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you expain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sûtra IV. 3. 120.

Vârt:—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and mâṇḍûkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इञ् added to the word असुर; the word 'âsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, âsuri' should form its further derivative (called also शैषिक) by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, (स्त्रियां ङीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यत्प्रातिपदिकं श्रुत्यावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'ङीप' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरि 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age?' Observe स्थविरा 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vârt:—The sûtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूटी 'a young woman', चिरण्टी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pâṇini himself uses the word 'kanyâ' showing that it is a valid form; as in sûtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उत्तानशया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, (स्त्रियां ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus दशपूली, पञ्चपूली ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-बिस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, (ङीप् द्विगोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणन्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure; or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'ṅîp' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sûtra. The words बिस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tolahs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाणं means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ठञ् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimâṇa techincally so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by टाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वा 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sûtra by the word 'parimâṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 *Vart.)* So also द्विशता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिशता ॥ So also with the words बिस्त &c. As द्विबिस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिबिस्ता, द्व्याचिता, त्र्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimâṇa or a 'measure'?' Observe द्व्याढकी, त्र्याढकी "a female purchased for two or three âḍhaka". Here âḍhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoir.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samâhâra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ṅîp' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also दशाश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि ङीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डशब्दान्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये ङीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ङीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभाक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoind by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vârtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sûtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ṅîp' but by टाप्; so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

The term 'kâṇḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sûtra applies to it; the present sûtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sûtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kâṇḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kâṇḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषशब्दस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ङीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sûtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samâhâra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, ङीष् (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् शब्दान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ङीष्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word ûdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrîhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोधस्; then the final of ûdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. *ante*; the present sûtra enjoins ङीष् instead. Thus कुण्डोध्नी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; घटोध्नी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahûvrîhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्तोधाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

The Sûtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोधा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे ङीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-आदेः, ङीप् (बहुव्रीहे रूधसः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरव्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरूधसशब्दान्तात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sûtra ordains 'ṅîp', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'ṅîsh'. Thus द्वी+ऊधस्+अनङ्+ङीप् (V. 4. 131)=द्व्यूध्नी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूध्नी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्यूध्नी 'many-uddered.; निरूध्नी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोध्नी and त्रिविधोध्नी, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, (स्त्रियां ङीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहे र्दामशब्दान्ताद्धायनशब्दान्ताच्च स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numerel, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining ṅîp optionally: the present sûtra ordains ṅîp to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विदाम्नी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिदाम्नी ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt:—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra. Therefore we have no ṅîp here:—द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ण; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ण and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अन्यतरस्यां (बहुव्रीहे ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तो यो बहुव्रीहिरुपधालोपी तस्मादन्यतरस्यां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ङीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन्; in applying ṅîp, it loses is penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अल्लोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when ṅîp is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix ङीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगाद्वमन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः (अनउपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां ङीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चानित्यं ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ङीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrîhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix ङीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surâjñî'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirâjñî'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चदाम्नी, एकदाम्नी, द्विदाम्नी 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकमूर्ध्नी समानमूर्ध्नी ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्यकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, (संज्ञाछन्दसोः ङीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix ङीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्यकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sûtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी and भागधेया; पापी and पापा; अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes ङीष् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurâdi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः ङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जस्विषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिशब्दात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अजसादिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

31. The affix ङीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री सृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

Vârt:—According to Kâtyâyana, ṅîp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रिं सहोषित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the ङीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्ठिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'râtrya' is the nominative plural of 'râtrî' which is formed by the feminine affix ṅîp; and not by ṅîsh. The forms evolved by adding ङीष् or ङीप् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by ṅîsh has udâtta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix त्रिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes ङीष् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुग् भवति ङीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix ङीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sûtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sûtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत्न् and पतिवत्न्; and these words must take ṅîp by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sûtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वत्नी and पतिवत्नी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following :—प्रथते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी ; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वत्नी ; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मतुप्). Because मतुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मतुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sûtra. The म is changed to व by VIII. 2. 9 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :— as सान्तर्वत्नी or सान्तर्वती देवानुपैत् ॥ पतिवत्नी or पतिवती तरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix ङीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पत्नि वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पत्नी means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पति as ग्रामस्य पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmanî is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पत्नी means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sûdra, for a Sûdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पत्नी is, however, extended to the wife of a Sûdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sûdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥३४॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति ङीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprâpta-vibhâshâ. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sûtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, (पत्युर्नः स्त्रि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्य पत्युर्नकारादेशो भवति ङीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix ङीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:—
1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 दास 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, (स्त्रियां ङीप्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामैकारादेशो भवति ङीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix ङीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायी 'the wife of Pûtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sûtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, in asmuchas the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sûtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः (ऐ ङीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त ऐकारादेशो भवति स्त्रियां ङीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the letter ऐ having udâtta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीद have udâtta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sû II. 19), the feminine of these has udâtta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udâtta on the final (Phiṭ sû I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udâtta, by the rule of sthânivat bhâva, even if the present sûtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी 'the wife of Kusidai. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्री 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. 1. 203.

मनोरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, (ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांङीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दात् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारश्चान्तादेशः ऐकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udâtta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu. The word मनु has udâtta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोनः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः (वा ङीप्स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात्तकारोपधाद्वाङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिशङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्नमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so श्येता or श्येनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udâtta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. 1. 197 (ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory ञ् or न् have udâtta accent on the first vowel",:)

because these words are formed by the Uṇadi affixes तन् (Uṇ III. 86) and इतन् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sûtra II. 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् "of words expressive of colour and ending in तण, or ति or नि or त, the udâtta accent falls on the first vowel").

Why do we say "expressive of color"? Observe प्रहृता, प्रसृता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः "the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *gati* word with a word formed by the affix *kta*"). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take ṅîp.

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color', yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by rule of Phiṭ sutra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words ghṛita &c. have udâtta on the final").

Why do we say "having the letter त as its penultimate letter"? Otherwise the affix ṅîsh will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As शितिर्ब्राह्मणी 'a black Brahmaṇî woman'. Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त, has anudâtta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन् ; but as it does not end with अ, its feminine is not formed with ṅîp.

Vârt:—The affix ṅîp comes also after the word पिशङ्ग; as, पिशङ्गी 'of tawny color'.

Vârt:—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey'.

Vârt:—According to some, the substitute क्नम् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्नी (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्नी (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic :—As गतो गणस्तूर्णमसिक्निकानाम् ॥

अन्यतोङीष् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, ङीष्, (वर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudâtta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sûtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* त as penultimate. The difference between ṅip and ṅish affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus-सारङ्गी, कल्माषी, शबली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As खट्वा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्भ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicatory ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sûtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि ष्वुन्) the affix ष्वुन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ṅísh. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रजकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गौरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurâdi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 मनुष्य, 4 शृङ्ग, 5 पिङ्गल 6 हय, 7 गवय, 8 मुकय, 9 ऋष्य, 10 पुट, 11 तूण 12 द्रुण, 13 द्रोण; 14 हरिण, 15 कोकण, (काकण,) 16 पटर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुवल, 20 बिम्ब, 21 बदर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 सलद 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 अलिन्द 33 गडुज, 34 षाण्डश 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 सृपाट, 39 आखक (आपच्चिक), 40 शष्कुल, 41 सूर्य (सूर्म) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 यूष (पूष) 45 यूथ, 46 सूप, 47 मेथ, 48 वल्लक, 49 धातक, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृस) 56 अतस, 57 उभय. 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मठ, 61 छेद, 62 पेश, 63 मेद, 64 श्वन् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनड्वाही, 68 । एषणः करणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकादन 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औद्गाहमानि (औद्गाहमानि) 77 गौतम (गोतम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अथःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिङ्गि, 83 यान 84 मेध, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलजि, 87 आलब्धि, 88 आलक्षि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक. 91 आरट, 92 नट, 93 टोट, 94 नोट, 95 मूलाट, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानट) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलात्संज्ञायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्थर, 111 मंगल 112 पट, 113 पिण्ड, 114 षण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुर्द, 117 शम, 118 सूद, 119 औड (आर्द) 120 हद (ह्रद) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कदर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बृहत्, 131 महत्, 132 सोम, 133 सौधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 विकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छ्रोणिवचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरीतकी) 142 कोशातकी, 143 शमी, 144 वरी, 145 शरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्टु, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेढ, 151 सुब, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलूक. 154 आलिंगि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 दहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sûtra ; the word मत्स &c. being jâti words having a penultimate य would

not have taken ṅîp (IV. I. 63) but for this sûtra; श्वन् and तक्षन् would have taken डाप् (IV. I. 13), एषण is formed by ल्युट् and would have taken ṅîp (IV. I. 15) इष्यतेऽनया = एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take ṅîn also by IV. I. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *vartika* मातरि षिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is षित्; its inclusion in the list of Gaurâdi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is षित्, is not universal (अनित्यः षित् लक्षणो ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like दंष्ट्रा &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवराद् वृत्त्यमत्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जानपद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरात्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अवपन-अकृत्रिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words 'jânapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कबर; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अञ् to janapada, by sûtra IV. I. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीप् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोदकं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागी 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix ṅîsh in the feminine; otherwise टाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vachana word it takes ङीप् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काला 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word अनाच्छादन in the sûtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागौः, or नीली वडवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नीला 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'. By Phiṭ Sûtra II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udâtta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken ङीष् always; but the present sûtra makes a niyama rule and restricts the application of ङीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

वोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रातिपदिकाद् उकारान्तात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनान् ङीबाद्युदात्तार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ खरुसंयोगोपधात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhya* or *sarvanâman*, or *jâti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Paṇini). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पट्वी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आखुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vârt :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix ṅîp is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-

cented. As, वस्वी ॥ वसु is formed by उ (Vṇ I. 10) and is âdyudâtta because the उ is नित् ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated after the word खरु, and words though ending in short उ, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As खरुरियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmaṇî who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined:—

सत्वे निविशतेपैति पृथग् जातिषु दृश्यते ।
आधेयश्चाक्रियाजश्च सोऽसत्त्वप्रकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-ङीष्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvâdi class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्धति, 3 अञ्चति, 4 अङ्कति, 5 अंहति, 6 शकटि, (शकति), 7 शक्तिः शस्त्रि, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 अहि, 14 कपि, 15 यष्टि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राण्यंगात् । 18 कृदिकारादक्तिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽक्तिन्नर्थादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 अराल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कट, 27 भरुज, 28 ध्वज, 29 चन्द्रभागान्नद्याम् (चन्द्रभागा नद्याम) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुराण, 33 अहन्, 34 क्रोड, 35 नख, 36 खुर, 37 शिखा, 38 बाल, 39 शफ, 40 गुद ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राग इत्यादि ॥

The affix ṅîsh also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥ Some say that the feminine affix *nîsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a guṇa-word and would have *optionally* taken ṅîsh even by the last sûtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sûtra, by which it *necessarily* takes ṅîsh in the Chhandas. It is an Âkritigaṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बह्वादिभ्यः स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वादिभ्य श्छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हित्वा प्रपिबन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a herb.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, which it governs than for this sûtra. For the word

'optionally' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya'? would have been a necessary rule and not optional: for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योविधिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भश्चिन्त्य योजनः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विभ्वी, प्रभ्वी, सुभ्वी, शम्भ्वी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयभूः? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विभ्वी &c. are feminine of विभु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उतः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sûtra IV. I. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of उवङ्; this form being confined to sûtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्धेतो र्यत्प्रातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस आख्याभूतं तस्मात् ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकादीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम ॥ सूर्याद्देवतायां चाब् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsâ) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रष्ठी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by टाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sûtra will not apply.

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattâ, and Yajñadattâ, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sûtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिक and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

Vârt :—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sûrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sûrya', while सूरी will denote a human wife of Sûrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had ङीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then टाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-अरण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिमारण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यवाद्दोषे ॥

वा० ॥ यवनाल्लिप्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्यादणत्वेच ॥ वा० ॥ अर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यांवा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्गलाच्छन्दसि लिच्च ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sûtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sûtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sûtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', शर्वाणी 'the wife of Śarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛiḍa'.

Vârt :—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vârt :—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

Vârt:—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

Vârt:—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor',

Vârt:—And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

Vârt:—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishyâ class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only ङीष् is added. As अर्यी 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रियी 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

Vârt:—In the Chhandas, the affix ङीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुद्गल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ल् ॥ The force of the indicatory ल् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रथीरभून् मुद्गलानी गविष्टौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix ङीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse:— सा हितस्यधनक्रीता प्राणेभ्योपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix टाप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः "Gati, Kârakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

क्तादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तात्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वात् ङीष स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात् क्तान्तदल्पाख्यायां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix ङीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sûtra governs this also. The participle in क्त, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sûtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अभ्रविलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सूपविलिप्ती पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brâhmanî lady covered with sandal essence?"

बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (क्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्योऽन्तोदात्तस्तस्मात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थ विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनञ्सुकाल सुखादिपूर्वादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sûtra applies to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the first member is a *svânga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svânga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंखभिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोत्कृत्ती (गलमुत्कृत्तमस्या), केशलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vârt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishthâ stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words शंख &c. are jâtî words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrîhi compound?" Observe पादपतिता which is an Ablatîve Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth;' स्तनजाता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 Vârt.

Vârt:—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अग्निसाक्षिकं यस्याःपाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Vârt:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नञ्, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, मासजाता, सवत्सरजाता, सुखजाता or दुःखजाता &c.

Bahuvrîhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वांग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् क्तात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् क्तान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sûtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus शार्ङ्गजग्ध, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170), but as the first portion of this Bahuvrîhi is not a *Svânga* word, but a *jâti* word, its feminine will be शार्ङ्गजग्धी or शार्ङ्गजग्धा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svânga* word'? Observe शंखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वस्त्रच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

Vârt:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As प्रवृद्धविलूनी or प्रवृद्धविलूना ॥

स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां ङीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वांगंयदुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अंगगात्रकण्ठेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not-a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvritti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the anuvṛitti of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sûtra. Thus चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा, अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान्, and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe बहुयवा 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपार्श्वा ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word अङ्ग, गात्र and कण्ठ, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus मृद्वङ्गी or मृद्वङ्गा ; सुगात्री or सुगात्रा, स्निग्धकण्ठी or स्निग्धकण्ठा ॥

The word स्वांग has a technical meaning as given in the following verse :—

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतत्स्थं तत्रदृष्टं चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is svâṅga ; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state ; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृंगाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृंगात्, च, (स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्योनित्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'â nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जंघा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्ग 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sûtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदरा, बिम्बोष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठा, दीर्घजंघी or दीर्घजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vârt :—The affix *ṅish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vârt :—So also the feminine affix *ṅish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादिबह्वचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-बहु-अचः, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्ताद् बह्वजन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c, of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड़ &c. is âkriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याणबाला, कल्याणशफा, कल्याणगुदा, कल्याणघाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाललाटा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrîhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad-bhâva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां ङीष् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वात् प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix ङीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेशा, अकेशा विद्यमानकेशा ॥ So also सनासिका अनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. I. 55 *ante*: as well as IV. I. 54

नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नख-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां ङीष् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नखमुखान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये ङीष् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix ङीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śûrpaṇakhâ the sister of Râvaṇa'. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गौरमुखा, कालमुखा &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निपात्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजीह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजीह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजीह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix ङीष् would not have applied to it by IV. I. 54. The present aphorism enjoins ङीष् ॥ Thus दीर्घजीह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजीह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेट् ।

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dîrgha-jîhvî* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form dîrgha-jîhvî in the sûtra, it is indicated that the application of ङीष् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sûtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदात् ङीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, ङीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sûtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix ङीप् being anudâtta (III. 1. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिकी or प्रांनासिका, But not so in प्राग्गुल्फा ; or प्राक्क्रोडा or प्रागजघना because these words do not take ङीष् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of ङीप् ॥ The sûtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix ङीष् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svânga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but ङीष् is not added to Compounds ending in क्रोड &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sûtra may be translated "ङीप् is the substitute of ङीष् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix ङीप् will come only there, where else the affix ङीष् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of ङीष् is taken in the next sûtra (IV. 1. 61) and not that of ङीप् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (ङीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह् ॥

The anuvṛitti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह् is formed from the root वाह् with the affix ण्वि (III. 2. 64). The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vâh." Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दित्य + वाह् + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊठ् + आह् + ङीष् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊठ्, Uṭh is the samprasarana of vâh, when this is a *bha*) = दित्य + ऊह् + ङीष् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च ' after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute'), = दित्यौही (VI. I. 89 एत्येधत्यूठ्सु 'vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or ûṭh follow'). Similarly प्रष्ठौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिश्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिश्वी इत्येतौशब्दौ ङीषन्तौ भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिश्वी are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिशुरस्तीति = अशिश्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपदी भव and अशिशुमिव मामयं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

जातेरस्त्री विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अस्त्रीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यत्प्रातिपदिकं नच स्त्रियामेव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधंच तस्मात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे हय गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jâti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sûtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; सूकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brâhmani'; वृषली 'a woman of the Śûdra caste', नाडायनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारायणी 'a Chârâyaṇî', कटी 'a woman of Brahmans who read the Kaṭha', बह्वृची 'a woman of the class of Brahmans who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jâti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jâti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vârt:—In excluding words that have the letter य् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate य्) viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The य् of *matsya* is elided by the vârtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vârtika.

Another definition of jâti is :—

प्रादुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्गुणैः ।
असर्वलिंगां बह्वर्थां तां जातिं कवयो विदुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाच्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदात् तु यतोनिष्यते तदजादिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सत्प्राक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनशण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्नञः ॥

64. And the feminine affix ङीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sûtra. Thus ओदनपाकी शंकुकर्णी, शालपर्णी, शंखपुष्पी, दासीफली दर्भमूली, and गोवाली ॥

When, however the affix ङीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compouds will fall under Ajâdi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, (स्त्रियां ङीष्)

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इञ उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix ङीष comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dâkshî'. Thur अवन्ति+ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) आवन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. प्लाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ" ? Witness विट् 'Vaishya', दरत् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men" ? Witness तित्तिरिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that ङीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य् Thus औदमयी ॥

Vârt :—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a *jati* Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इञ here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम &c, and does not denote a jâti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेश्चारज्ज्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य् as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sûtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called", जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jîvabandhu class",

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य: IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कुरू (कुरु + उ = कुरू) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4 154, in Bahuvrîhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter य as its penultimate"? Witness अध्वर्युर्ब्राह्मणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vârt:—The affix ऊङ्. comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाबू: 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धू: 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकुः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुशब्दान्ता त्प्रातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहूः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहूः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहूः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गोश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पंगोः, च, (स्त्रियां ऊङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पंगुशब्दात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्वसुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पंगु 'lame'.

As पंगू 'a female lame'.

Vârt:—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter अ of the word. As श्वश्रूः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puṅyoga ङीष् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरूत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरूत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकादौपम्ये गम्यमाने स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊङ comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कदलीस्तम्भोरूः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नागनासोरूः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरूः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand '.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरूः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचकार च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादेः प्रातिपदिकादूरूत्तरपदात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरूः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity).' शफोरूः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot,' लक्षणोरूः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरूः 'with handsome thighs.'

Vârt:—So also with the words सहित and सह. As सहितोरूः and सहोरूः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊङ comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रूश्च वै सुपर्णी च ॥ मास्मकमण्डलुं शूद्राय दद्यात् ॥

Why do we say " in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

Vârt:—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालु ॥ Thus गुग्गुलूः, मधूः, जतूः, and पतयालूः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अच्छन्दोर्थं वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊङ comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु.

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रूः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa', कमण्डलूः 'Kamandalû'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रूः 'the tawny color.' कमण्डलूः 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अञः, ङीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽञन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix ङिन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kâpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida'. और्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sûtra applies to words expressing jâti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came after jâti-vâchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between ङीष् and ङीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by ङीन् will have *udâtta* accent on the first syllable ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory ञ or न् has udâtta accent on the first syllable') : while the word formed by ङीष् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida', and बैदी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौग्गुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 बैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण् the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृंगरु, कपटु, गुग्गुलु and ब्रह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गोतम by the अण् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशोकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123) except kâmandaleya which is formed by ढञ् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 शैव्य are formed by ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह् 'to try', and परि + आ + इह् (Un IV. 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आश्मरथ्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105). 20 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76). 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्ड: are jâti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मतुप्, and are consequently उगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains ङीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by घञ् and गौरि is formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95), both are âdyuddâtta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When मतुप् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for *matup* being पित् is anudâtta (III. 1. 4), There-

fore whether ङीप् be added or ङीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain âdyudâtta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply घादिषु नित्यम् ह्रस्वार्थम् ॥ For had these words taken ङीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes घ &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking ङीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sûtra उगितश्च (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word इति, and means the नदी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by ङीन् ॥

26 नृ 27 नर. The word नृ would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken ङीष as it denotes a jâti. These words take vṛiddhi before ङीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । ञ्यङ्ः ष्यङश्च सामान्यग्रहणमेतत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षाच्च यञः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् coms after a stem which is formed by the affix ञ्यङ् or ष्यङ् ॥

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes ञ्यङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and ष्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बष्ठ्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvîrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly ष्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, वाराह्या ; बालाक्या ॥

Vârt:—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter ष् immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Sarkarâksha', पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pûtimâshya', गौकाक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sûtra 16 would have taken ङीप् ॥

The प् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term आप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍâdi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment ष्यङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sûtra and need not be included in the Vârtika. There is no Samprasâraṇa of the य when पुत्र or पति is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः and not गौकाक्षीपुत्रः ॥

आवट्याच्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवट्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवट्याच्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवट्य ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवट्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवट्यायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikâra or govering sûtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sûtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Prâtipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्या ञाञौ ॥ अमादि पश्चाड् डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, अग्रिम, आदिम, पश्चिम ॥ See Vârt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sûtras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्शब्दात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां तिः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sûtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीष् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jâti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अनार्षयोः, गुरूपोत्तमयोः, ष्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावणिञौ विहितावनार्षौ तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशो भवति । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उत्तमशब्दः स्वभावात् त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमक्षरमाह उत्तमस्य समीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरूपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इञ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (ष्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिञोः 'of अण् and इञ्,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरूपोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) ष्यङ् 'the substitute is shyaṅ' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by ष्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word uttama meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sûtra does not apply to forms like दाक्षि &c.

Of the substitute ष्यङ् the letter ष् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष् differentiating this affix from ञ्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) Replace this affix by ष्य and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धिः gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in sûtra अतइञ् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहिः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्' ॥ Witness आर्तभागा from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to बिदादि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अञ् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अञ् is not replaced by ष्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापटवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra?' Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां ष्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणिञोरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुणिकभुणिकमुखरप्रभृतय, स्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिञोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, ष्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अणिञोः of the last sûtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरूपोत्तमः ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras. i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक, भुणिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus पौणिक्या, भौणिक्या and मौखर्या ॥

The word अवयव in the sûtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like दैवदत्त्या याज्ञदत्त्या ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the क्रौड्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down ; can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhâraya samâsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्यायः ॥ These are, however. technically called कुल ॥

क्रौड्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रौडि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां ष्यङ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रौडि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरूपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भः । अनणिञर्थश्च ॥

80. The affix ष्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words क्रौडि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इञ् ॥ In fact ष्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus क्रौड्या 'a female Krauḍî", लाड्या 'a female Lâḍi'. The following is the list of Krauḍâdi words :—

1 क्रौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति. These are formed by इञ् (IV. 1. 95). 6 चौपयत, 7 चैटयत (वैटयत), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत) 9 वैल्वयत (वैकल्पयत), These are formed by the affix अण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि. This is formed by इञ् with the substitute अकङ् (IV. 1. 97) added to सुधातृ ॥ 11 सूतयुवत्याम् The word सूत takes ष्यङ् when denoting a grown-up maiden as सूत्याः ; otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by टाप्, or सूती by ङीष् denoting a jâti. 12 भोज क्षत्रिये ॥ This debars ङीष् of jâti as भोज्याः, otherwise टाप् as भोजाः (भोजयति). 13 यौतकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भौरिकी, 16 भौलिकि, 17 शाल्मलि, 18 शालास्थलि, 19 कापिष्ठलि, 20 गौकक्ष्य (गौलक्ष्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इञ्, the last is formed by यञ् of Gargâdi class.

दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यो, ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि, काण्ठेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दैवयज्ञि शौचवृक्षि सात्यमुग्रि काण्ठेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यांष्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ष्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

These words end in the affix इञ्, and the word gotra is not undeistood in the sûtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyaṅ would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sûtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sûtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when ष्यङ् is not added, ङीष् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 *ante*. Thus दैवयज्ञ्या or दैवयज्ञी, so also शौचिवृक्ष्या or शौचिवृक्षी, सात्यमुग्र्या or सात्यमुग्री, काण्ठेविद्ध्या or काण्ठेविद्धी ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रयमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिश्चायमधिकारः। प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत्। स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोपि तत्रानवस्थितः, केचिन्नित्यमेव भवन्ति। लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्तं रागात्, तत्रभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति। तेषु सामर्थ्ये सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम्॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी। समर्थानां मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धार्यते॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation: that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book; before the beginning of the sûtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sûtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक); for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्यापत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As 'उपगोरपत्यं=औपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix अण् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sûtra तेनरक्तं रागात् (IV. 2. 1); here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which'; as कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं=काषायम्, 'Kâshâya is a cloth, coloured

by Kashâya'. Similarly in sûtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as स्रुघ्ने भवः = स्रौघ्नः "who stays in Srughna '.

The word समर्थानाम् is the genitive plural of समर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhârana':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the *first* is specifically pointed out as the *prakriti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कम्बल उपगोरपत्यं देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu ; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्यं are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कम्बलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say " after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case, Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence ; thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the Taddhita formed word औपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samâsa) ; as उपग्वपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samâsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4 2. because the anuvritti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here : so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samâsa rules will find scope.

This sûtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk : " when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional".

प्राग्दिव्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीव्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीव्यत्संशब्दनाद् यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism tena dîvyati &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikâra sûtra or a paribhâshâ sûtra or a vidhi sûtra. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यापत्यम् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As औपगवः 'the son of उपगुः' ; कापटवः 'the son of Kapatu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. 1. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्वपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अण् comes after the Nominal-stems 'aṡvapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena dîvyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with '*pati.*' The present sûtra enjoins अण् instead. Thus अश्वपति + अण् = आश्वपतम् (VII. 2 117 तद्धितेष्वचामादेः 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory ञ् or ण्, there is vriddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यस्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or अ or आ, of a *bha'*.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यज्ञपति, 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वाङ्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पृथिव्या ञाञौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवाद्यञञौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषष्टिलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकक्च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकञ् छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्थाम्नोकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लोम्नोपत्येषुबहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिप्रत्ययप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्यादयोर्थविशेषलक्षणादपवादात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dîvyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi', आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यं ; so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word यम ; as, याम्यम् ॥

Vârt:—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति and पितृमत् ॥ As वाच्यम् (Vs, 13, 58.) मात्यम् and पैतृमत्यम् ॥

Vârt :—The affixes ञ and अञ् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ञ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अञ् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

Vârt :—The affixes यञ् and अञ् come after the word देव 'a god'. As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine'.

Vârt :—There is elision of the टि of बहिस्, and there is the affix यञ् ; as बहिस् + यञ् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vârt* :—and the affix ईकक् may be employed. As बहिस् + ईकक् = बाहीकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vṛiddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicatory क). *Vârt* :—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकञ् as बाहिकः the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vârtika declares that its टि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ *bha*. In fact the following *vârtika* अव्ययानाञ्च (the टि of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sûtra VI. 4. 144 (the टि of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the *avyaya* आरात् we get आराती &c ; here the टि is not elided.

Vârt :—Of the word स्थामन् the टि is replaced by अ as अश्वत्थामः ॥

Vârt :—The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as उडुलोमाः, शरलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness औडुलोमिः, शारलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

Vârt :—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यत् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Ovserve गोभ्यो हितं or आगतं = गोरूप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Vârt :—These affixes ण्य &c, taught in this sûtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words दिति &c अण् will not be employed, but ण्य, as दैत्य "a descendant of दिति'. So also वानस्पत्यम् = (वनस्पतीनाम् समूहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्य्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दिती, the feminine of the word दिति, formed by the affix ङीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word दिति being formed by the Krit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word दिती is added ढक् and we get दैतेयः ॥ The Paribhâshâ प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्ग विशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form हैतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahâbhâshya or any Vârtika.

उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तदपवादानां च बाधकः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-dîvyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः, औदपानः ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class.

1 उत्स, 2 उदपान, 9 विकर, 4 विनद, 5 महानद 6 महानस, 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्कयासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुभ्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशीनर, 29 ग्रीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण. । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृष दंश, 24 भल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यंदिन, 28 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 39 कुरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुभ्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Vârt:—The word ग्रीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : ग्रैष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But ग्रैष्मः 'belonging to summer'. The word छन्दस here means 'metre', and not Veda. The word वष्कयाऽसे = वष्कय असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be गोवाष्कयिः ॥ The Paribhâshâ ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेधः does not apply here. Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधिनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूहः) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place': as औदस्थानो देशः ; otherwise औदस्थानिः 'the son of Udasthâna.' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोऽंशः ॥

स्त्री पुंसाभ्यां नञ् स्नञौ भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंशब्दनाद्येर्थास्तेषु स्त्री शब्दात्पुंसूशब्दाच्च यथाक्रमं नञ्स्नञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

87. The affixes नञ् and स्नञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhânyânâm bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1).

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रैणम् 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore

the word स्त्रैणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवं (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females,; or स्त्रीभ्यआगतं (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंस + स्नञ् = पौंस्नम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1 115. For Pâṇini himself uses the form पुंवत् (and not पौंस) in sûtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, the affix स्नञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीत्वं, स्त्रीता, पुंस्त्वं and पुंस्त्वा are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The स् of पुंस् is elided before स्नञ् by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sûtra, and not two.

द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्यः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राग्दीव्यतीयो ऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुग्भवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dîvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग्दीव्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः "prepared in ten cups." द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and अधीते (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वैदेवदत्तिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रैदेवदत्तिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas,' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati?*" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्येदं = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthâna-shashṭhî, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the *affix* which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samâhâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and षाड्कुलः ? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्र्यवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः dose not mean पंचसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः, पंचनदे भवः = पांचनदः ॥ So also with षाड्कुलं ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पंचभ्यो गर्गेभ्य आगतं = पंचगर्गरूप्यम् or पंचगर्गमयम्? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कादिभ्यो . गोत्रइत्यादिना येषां गोत्रप्रत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजादौ प्राग् दीव्यतीये विषयभूते प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sutras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dîvyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a pragdîvyatîya affix. and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. 4. 151), and not गर्गीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रेयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः disciples of Vâtsyas, Atreyas, Khârpâyaṇas.'

Why do we say "गोत्रे" i. e. "when the Gotra affix is elided"? Observe कौवलम्, बादरम् ॥ Here the affix denoting "fruit" is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the prâgdîvytîya affix अण् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बदरी is बदरम्; from which बादरम 'belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.'

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम्; and गर्गमयम्; and not गार्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य;

a prâgdîvyatîya affix taught in sûtra IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly the next affix मयट् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prâgdîvyatîya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम्=गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in Sûtra V. 1. 5 not one of the prâgdîvyatîya senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The Gotra-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus बिद will form its Gotra derivative by अञ् (IV. 1. 104) as बिद+अञ्=बैदः ॥ The plural of बैद will be बिदाः by the elision of अञ् ॥ One yuvan or two yuvan descendants of these बिदाः will be formed by the affix इञ् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word बिदाः will be supposed not to have lost its अञ्, therefore इञ् will be added to बैद, thus बैद+इञ्; then this इञ् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is बैदः, बैदौ ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one बैदः or two बैदः will be बिदाः ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीव्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्रागदीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धिस्थेऽनुत्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is luk elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prâgdîvyatîya affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (Gotra) of फाण्टाहृतः is फाण्टाहृतिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इञ् ॥ The Yuvan form of the latter (by Sûtra IV. 1. 150) will be फाण्टाहृतः ॥ When we intend to add a Prâgdîvyatîya affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the Yuvan affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word फाण्टाहृत ॥ Having done which we get the form फाण्टाहृति; and it is with regard to this form फाण्टाहृति that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by sûtra IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus फाण्टाहृति+अण्=फाण्टाहृताः 'the pupils of Phâṇṭâhṛitas'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the Yuvan word फाण्टाहृत, such affix would have been छ and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवित्त is भागवित्ति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागवित्ति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhâgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिक is तैकायनि formed by फिञ् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि ॥ Thus तैकायनीयाः ॥

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाद is कापिञ्जलादिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जलाद्यः (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जलाद्य will be कापिञ्जलादाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि) ॥ Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe फाण्टाहृतरूप्यम् rnd फाण्टाहृतमयम् ॥ Why do we say "a Prâgdîvyatîya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हितं = भागवित्तीयम् ॥ (See the last Sûtra).

फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ फक-फिञोः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिञोर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां लुग् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sûtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः ॥ The word denoting the pupils of Gârgyâṇa will be गार्गीया or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; वात्सीयाः or वात्स्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीयाः ॥

तस्यापत्यम् ॥९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्देशोयं, पूर्वैरुत्तरश्च प्रत्ययैरभिसंबध्यते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादपत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टष्षष्ठ्यार्थो ऽपत्यमात्रश्चेह गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sûtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, ण्य, अञ् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is :—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आश्वपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अश्वपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रैणः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman". पौंस्नः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sûtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 अण् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sûtra? The present sûtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix अण् &c in the case of तस्येदम्॥ How can an अशैषिक affix debar a शैषिक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes अण् &c are treated like शैषिक for this purpose. Thus these affixes अण् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Vṛiddham under certain circumstances. Thus भानोरपत्यं=भानवः, so also श्यामगवः from श्यामगुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य)॥

Kârikâ तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत्।
उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम्॥

एको गोत्रे॥ ९३॥

वृत्तिः॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षिते भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिप्रसङ्गे नियमः क्रियते। गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sûtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sutra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्ग) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sûtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix यञ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः यून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यनन्तरयुवभ्यः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a niyama or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायनः, दाक्षायणः, प्लाक्षायणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षिः and प्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan ? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sûtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इञ् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । अकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter त् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभंयाः or कीलालपाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sûtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As "प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली" 'Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.'

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिशब्दानां च तत्सदृशात्प्रतिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'Bâhu' &c.

Thus बाहविः "a descendant of the clan of Bâhu." The words 'Bâhu &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ्. Hence the necessity of the present sûtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निवाकु, 5 शिवाकु, 6 वटाकु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपाबिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला (छगला) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 धुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 दुर्मित्रा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 29 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माष, 35 शाराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 शृङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्क, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयाम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकिः 58 जाङ्घिः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vârt:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहवः ॥

Vârt:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father-in-law' is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरिः ॥

The च in the sûtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus जाम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजबन्धविः, औडुलोमिः ॥

सुधातुरकङ् च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृशब्दादपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन च तस्याकङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtṛi in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtṛi is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम्= सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtṛi.'

Vârt:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुड, निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः, वारुडकिः नैषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, बैम्बकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च् फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च् फञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके ऽपत्ये वाच्ये कुंजादिभ्यश्च्फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इञ् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter ञ् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sûtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix च्फञ् take the further affix य (ञ्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter ञ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sûtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by आयन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज+च्फञ्=कौञ्ज+आयन्+अ=कौञ्जायन. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sûtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यौ, plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ञ्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्राज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्राध्नायन्यः, ब्राध्नायन्यौ, ब्राध्नायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इञ् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter ञ् of the affix ञ्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sutra governs the succeeding sûtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sûtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध्न, 3 शङ्ख, 4 भस्मन् 5 गण, 6 लोमन्, 7 शट, 8 शाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाश्, 12 स्कन्द, 13 स्कम्भ, 14 शकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभंयि ॥

नडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चारायणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकायनः ॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bâhvâdi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. आग्निशर्मायणः = वार्ष्यगण्यः ; otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मिः ॥ The word कृष्ण will form कार्ष्णायनः when a Brâhmaṇa is meant ; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राणायनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राणिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रौष्टायनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुंज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 लमक । 10 शलंकु शलङ्कं च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे । 15 प्राण 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य, 29 काल्य (काव्य) 30 अज, 31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्टं च । 38 लोहं, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिंशपा, 42 अग्र, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिमत, 48 ऋच, 49 जलंधर, 50 अध्वर, 51 युगंधर, 52 हंसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अस्र, 68 कामुक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जत्, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजत, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्वरा, 81 अंशक, 82 याम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्बिदाद्यन्तर्गणः । हरितादिभ्यो ऽञन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ् (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of बिद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्). The son of हारित will be formed by this sûtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hârita or the great-grandson of Hârita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sûtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes ; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 *one* Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यञिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञ्-इञोः, च, (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्तादिञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix फक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sûtra has, like that of the preceding sûtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग+यञ् (IV. 1. 105)=गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य+फक्=गार्ग्यायणः ॥ दक्ष+इञ्=दाक्षिः; दाक्षि+फक्=दाक्षायणः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यञ् or इञ् which takes the Yuvan affix फक्; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप+यञ्=द्वैप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरर्थिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, शुनक, दर्भात्, भृगु, वत्स, आग्रायणेषु (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साग्रायणेष्वर्थेष्वपत्यविशेषेषु ॥

102. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhrigu, Vatsa and Agrâyana respectively.

Thus शारद्वतायनः=भार्गवः otherwise शारद्वतः (formed by अञ्) शौनकायनः =वात्स्यः; otherwise शौनकः, दार्भायणः=आग्रायणः, otherwise दार्भिः, (formed by इञ IV. 1. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and शुनक belonging to बिदादि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sûtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अन्यतरस्याम् (फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यऽन्यतरस्यां फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jîvanta.'

This debars इञ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रैणायनः or द्रौणिः, पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रौणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase "अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः"? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Drauṇâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनृषि-आनन्तर्ये, बिदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । बिदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽञ्प्रत्ययो भवति । ये पुनरत्रानृषिशब्दाः पुत्रादयस्तेभ्योऽनन्तरापत्य एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यइत्यस्यायमर्थः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'Bida' &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sûtra consists of four words: अनृषि "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; आनन्तर्ये 'in expressing an *immediate* descendant." बिदादिभ्य "after Bidâdi words" अञ् "the affix अञ्." Thus of the words falling in Bidâdi class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दुहित्र daughter,' ननान्दृ 'sister-in-law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्रः 'grand-son.' दुहित + अञ् = दौहित्रः "daughter's son.' But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus बिद + अञ् = बैदः 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.'

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two fold meaning of this sûtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word 'anrishi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर the affix ष्यञ् being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means :—'after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'añ' is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.'

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'ânantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'añ' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidâdi class. 'Indrabhû' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अञ्, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अण् of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अञ् is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अण् of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अण् of IV. 1, 114 is not debarred by this अञ् ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अञ् will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अण् ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अञ्), for both Gâdhi the father of Viśvâmitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद forms बैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. 96 इञ् and not by ऋष्यण् of IV. 1. 114, because बिद is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigaṇa of Bâhvâdi.

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किंदर्भ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिषेण (ऋष्टिशेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्व, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिग्रु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्वावतान, 26 श्यामाक, 27 श्यानक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 श्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किंदास, 32 बह्यस्क, 33 अर्कजूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 सृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पूत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्दृ, । 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक्, 55 श्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ् ॥ Thus परास्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशवः (the son of a Brâhmaṇa begotten on a Śûdra woman, who though married to the Brâhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशतिकादि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रैणेयः, with double vṛiddhi of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रइत्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, । 3 वाजासे । 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदभृत्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 शट, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवट, 20 मनस्, 21 धनंजय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण, 25 लोहित, 26 शंसित, 27 बभ्रु, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंकु, 32 लिगु, 33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंक्षु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनायी, 41 सूनु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्थक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 तृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भृत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रहूगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक, 77 मुद्गल, 75 मुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतूकर्ण (जातूकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अश्मरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पूतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गोलन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिष्णज, 94 भडित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 दल्भ, 97 चेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवहू, 100 इन्द्रहू, 101 एकलू, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उकथ, 107 कुटिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्थु, 111 ध्रुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 बिलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष्फ after यञ् in the feminine by IV. I. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाराशर्यः? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रुपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatya forms are by ऋष्यण् (IV. I. 114) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥

मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, बभ्रोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः (यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दाद्बभ्रु शब्दाच्च गोत्रापत्ये यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मणे कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brâhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." बाभ्रव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise बाभ्रवः ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sûtra also. The present sûtra declares a restriction, viz. बभ्रु takes यञ् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose: as it belongs to the sub-classs लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ. Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapâtha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sûtra.

कपिबोधादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिबोधशब्दाभ्यामाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि+यञ्=काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बौध्यः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बौधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bâhvâdi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargâdi class. The present sûtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa. descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargâdî class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1, 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, (गोत्रे, यञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आंगिरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargâdi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Śivâdi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes भञ् and अण्. The present sûtra declares that when it means an Aṅgirasa, then वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वातंड्यः and वातंडः any descendant of Vâtaṇḍa.

लुक् स्त्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरसइत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरस्यां स्त्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vatanḍa of the clan Añgirasa." Why do we say "of Añgirasa?" Observe वातंड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitâdi rule (V. 1 18). When वतण्ड takes अण् under Śivâdi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अण् yet in the feminine, there is not ष्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vatanḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अश्वादिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इति निवृत्तम् । अश्वादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛitti of âṇgirasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व+फञ् = अश्व+आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्मायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g, आत्रेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV. 1. 122), वैल्य = विलि (a Rajarshi)+ञ्यङ् (IV. 1 171), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word शाय takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायनः, otherwise शायिः with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥ The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातेयः with ढक् ॥ The word आत्रेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhâradvâja, as आत्रेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आत्रेयः ॥

The words भरद्वाज आत्रेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhâradvâja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhâradvâja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. I. 104.

1 अश्व 2 अश्मन् 3 शंख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खण्जार 10 बस्त 11 पिञ्जूल 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 क्षान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलांक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 श्रविष्ठ 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम्र 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 ग्रीष्म 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशंप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य 50 (वैल्व) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 प्रहृत 56 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस 58 नम 59

(मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भरद्वाजे 62 भरद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 मीवा 73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 बीक्ष्य, 77 वह, 78 खेड, 79 नत्त 80 ओजस, 81 नम ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गशब्दादपत्ये विशेषे त्रैगर्ते गोत्रे फञ् प्रतत्यो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गायणः = त्रैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञायन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sûtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इञ् &c, Thus शिव+अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly प्रौष्ठः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class; being a common noun denoting an artisan. it would have taken the affix इञ् by IV. 1, 153 ; the present sûtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्+अण् = ताक्ष्णः ॥ तक्षन्+ण्य = ताक्ष्ण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134, The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Śubhrâdi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikâdi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गांगः ; गांगायनिः and गांगेयः ॥ The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjâdi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms : वैपाशः and वैपाशायन्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix ढक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as त्रैवेण : but this is replaced by त्रिवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुभ् (ककुभा) 10 अनभिम्लान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्स्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कहूय 19 कहय 20 रोध 21 कपिंजल (कुपिंजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 तृणकर्ण 25 क्षिरहृद 26 जलहृद 27 परिल

28 पाषिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हैहय 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मंजीरक 37.38 मजिरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खंजार 41 खंजाल 42 कर्मार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्रवण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कारु 57 पृथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका 62 आर्यश्वेत (अर्यश्वेत) 63 सुपिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जुरकर्ण 67 खदूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 ऋष्टिषेण 70 गंगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 द्रुह्य 75 अयःस्थूल 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 73 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 द्व्यचो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध, 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभेदाप्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्ययप्रकृतेः प्रत्यवमर्शः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेभ्यो ऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । ढको ऽपवादः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vṛiddham in the sûtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sûtras like IV. 1. 166, but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (I. 1. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the *orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunâ.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irâvati.' वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastâ.' नार्मदः 'son of the Narmaddâ.' These are all *names* of rivers. Similarly शैक्षितः 'son of Śikshitâ' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe चान्द्रभाग्याया अपत्यं = चान्द्रभागेयः ; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by ढक् (IV. 1. 120). Why do we say being 'names of *rivers* or *women*.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शौभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful woman.'

ढक् (IV. 1. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sûtra is an exception to that.

ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ ऋषि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णयः कुरव इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽपत्ये ऽणप्रत्ययो भवती, ञोऽपवादः ।

114. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debars the affix इञ् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamitra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also श्वाफल्कः, रान्धसः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka; and वासुदेवः, आनुरुद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नाकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word अत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sûtra enjoins अण्; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins ढक्; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of अत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by ढक् ॥ Thus आत्रेयः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य; and not by अण्, so also वैष्वक्सेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family; so also भैमसेन्यः 'son of Bhîmasena' a person of Kuru family.

Note.—The words or sabdâs are eternal; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct? To this, some reply that Pânini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object: as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्ः, संख्या, सम, भद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ मातृशब्दात्संख्यापूर्वात्संपूर्वाद्भद्रपूर्वाच्चापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारश्चान्तादेशः ।

115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mâtri when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम or भद्र; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mâtri.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुरः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमात् + उ + अ = द्वैमात् + उ + र् + अ (I. 1. 51.) Similarly षाण्मातुरः, सांमातुरः, and भाद्रमातुरः ॥

This sûtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

ऋ of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sûtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be सांमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumâtṛi'. The word वैमात्रेयः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrâdi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ढकोपवादः । तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनशब्दआदेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कानीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karṇa or Vyasa'. This debars the ढक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् या पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, च्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेष्वण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौङ्गः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौङ्गिः ॥ छागलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागलिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंगा is used and not शुंग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. I. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. I. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sûtra. Thus पैलः or पैलेयः 'son of Pîlâ.'

ढक् च मण्डूकात् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डुक + ढक् = मांडूकेयः ; मंडूक + अण् = मांण्डूकः ; मण्डूक + इञ् = माण्डुकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीग्रहणेनं टाबादिप्रत्ययान्ताः शब्दा गृह्यन्ते । स्त्रीभ्योऽपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अण् क्रुञ्चाकोकिलात्स्मृतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes टाप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेयः (IV. I. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatâ or Suparṇî". But ऐडविडः and दारदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इडविड and दरद्, for though these words are feminine. they do not *end in feminine affixes.*

Vârt:—The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vârt:—The feminine words क्रुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलः "the son of a cuckoo.'

द्व्यचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दात्तेयः 'son of Dattâ', गौपेयः "son of Gopî". This debars the अण् of IV. I. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe यामुनः 'son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिञः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अनिञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारो द्व्यच इत्यस्यानुकर्षणार्थः । इकारान्तात्द्व्यचोऽनिञन्तादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ् ॥

The anuvṛitti of 'strî' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sûtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word द्व्यचः of the last sutra. Thus आत्रेयः 'the son of Atri'. नैधेयः 'the son of निधिः' ।

Why do we say " after a word ending in short इ " ? Observe दाक्षिः "son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्' ? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV. I. 95.); so also प्लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्चः ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debars इञ् and other affixes. The word च in the sûtra shows that some words not occuring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पांडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शौभ्रेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलाथल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाभ्रू, 7 लेखाभ्रु, (लेखाभ्र), 8 विकंसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिश्, 13 शालूक, 14 अजबस्ति, 15 शकंधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक, 19 विश, 20 देवतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 ज्ञातल (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सृकण्डु, 27 विस्ति, 28 अतिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकष्टु, 32 शाताहर, 33 पवष्टुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठे । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम; 42 मृकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष, 49 सुवक्षस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कद्रु, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्माशिन्, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त; 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदृष्टिन्, (अनुदृष्टि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलीवर्दिन्, 71 विग्र, 72 वीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मघष्टु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकथु, 86 यमष्टु, 87 कष्टु, 88 मृकण्ड, 89 गुद, 90 रुद, 91 कुशोरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥

विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुषीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दात्कुषीतकशब्दाच्च काश्यपे ऽपत्यविशेषे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक्' comes after the words 'Vikarna' and 'Kushîta', when they mean the descendants of Kâsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौषीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौषीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

भ्रुवो वुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रुवः, वुक्, च (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रूशब्दादपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus भ्रू + ढक् = भ्रू + वुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = भ्रुव् + ढक् = भ्रौवेयः (VII. 1. 2).

कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इनङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमादीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इनङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इनङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sûtra teaches merely the substituion of इनङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sûtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक्।

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = काल्याणिनेयः 'son of Kalyâṇî.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभगिन् + ढक् = सौभागिनेयः ॥ Similarly दौर्भागिनेयः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vṛiddhi of both the initial vowel उ and the second vowel अ of भ. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदृष्टि, 6 अनुसृति (अनुसृष्टि) 7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलटाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलटायाः, वा (ढक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलटाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इनङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थं वचनं प्रत्ययः पूर्वेणैव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलटा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलटा means literally one who wanders (अटति) from one family (कुल) to another, i. e. an unchaste woman. This sûtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलटा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलटा + ढक् = कुलटिन् + ढक् = कौलटिनेयः or कौलटेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलटा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढ्रक् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलटेरः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकाचेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭakâ'.

Vârt:—So also after the masculine word चटक ॥ Thus चाटकैरः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

Vârt:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the टाप् being added as belonging to Ajâdi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया ढ्रक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, ढ्रक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोधायाः अपत्ये ढ्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'ढ्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + ढ्रक् = गौधेरः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter ढ् is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udâtta accent fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एय्र, but the य् is elided by VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrâdi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गौधेयः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गौधारः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pâṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as जाडारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

क्षुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्राभ्यः, वा (ढ्रक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुद्रा अङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अर्थधर्मेण तदभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । क्षुद्राभ्यो वापत्ये ढ्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'ढ्रक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛitti of ढ्रक् is to be read in this sûtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sûtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेयः, दासेरः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुश्छण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसृ'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसृ + छण् = पैतृष्वस्रीयः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईय ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरपत्यप्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसृ' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसृ + ढक् = पैतृष्वसेयः ॥ This sûtra indicates by jñâpaka that the word पितृष्वसृ takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतदपेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुरपि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसृ' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sûtras IV. I. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसृ also. As मातृष्वस्रीयः or मातृष्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पाद्भ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् = कामण्डलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the उ being elided before ढ). So also शैतिबाहेयः and जाम्बेयः from शितिबाहु and जम्बु ॥

गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (ढञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्ष्टेयः; हार्ष्टेय ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विश्रि, 6 कुद्रि, 7 अजबस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्श्वशुरशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and अञ् respectively. Thus राजन्यः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Râjâ.' The word राजनः will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-in-law.'

क्षत्राद्घः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रशब्दादपत्ये घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattra.'

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षात्रिः ॥ The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तरप् and तमप् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्खः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात्केवलाच्चापत्ये खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'ḍhakañ.' That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आढ्यकुलीनः, श्रोत्रियकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यड्ढकञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदात्, अन्यतरस्यां, यत्, ढकञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तदपूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादन्यतरस्यां यत् ढकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां मुक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलादञ्खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अञ्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाड्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलात्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दौष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुश्छः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृतिः ॥ स्वसृशब्दादपत्ये छ : प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यच्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यत्, च ॥

वृत्ति : ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । चकाराच्छश्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातव्यः or भ्रात्रीयः 'the brother's son'. The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दाद् व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेदमित्रः सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्टकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्ठक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars ढक् &c. Thus रेवती+ठक्=रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अश्वपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 द्वारपाली, 5 वृकवञ्चिन्, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकग्राह, 8 कर्णग्राह, 9 दण्डग्राह, 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुदाक्ष) 12 चामरग्राह,

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते । गोत्रं या स्त्री तदभिधायिनः शब्दादपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति; चकाराट्ठक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने । पितुरसविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sûtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuons epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लुचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायनः and ग्लौचुकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो जाल्मः (formed by ढक् IV. 1. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगवि र्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवकः which is to be explained as गार्ग्या अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेरुपलक्षणार्थोयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धाट्ठक्सौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kârikâ भागवृत्तिपरो वित्तिर्द्वितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

तृतीयस्त्वाकशापेयो गोत्राट्ठग्बहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras.

Thus भागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhâgavitti'. So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from तृणबिन्दु + अण् (IV. 1. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101) as भागवित्तायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकशाप belongs to Śubhrâdi class IV. 1. 123: and forms आकशापेयः, his son will be आकशापेयिकः or आकशापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागवित्तायनः only.

The operation of this sûtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकशापेय as given in the kârikâ.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vṛddha' in the sûtra, for the anuvṛitti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sûtra, and a Sauvîra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vṛddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vṛddha is employed in the sûtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vṛddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sûtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vṛiddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyâh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvîras"? Observe औपगविर्जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागवित्तायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sûtras IV. 1. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. 1. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. 1, 150, denotes 'Sauvîra' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. I. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvîra'.

फेश्छ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फिञन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराट्ठक् कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kârikâ यमुन्दश्च सुयामा च वार्ष्यायणिः फिञः स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

cendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix फिञ् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikâdi class. The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यमुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + o(II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvîra country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The फेः of the sûtra refers to फिञ् and not to फिन्, for a stem formed by फिन् will not have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sûtra.

According to the Kârikâ, three फिञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sûtra viz यमुन्द, सुयामा and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyaṇi.

फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्टाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-फिञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्टाहृतिमिमतशब्दाभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णफिञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

150. The affixes ण and फिञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phâṇṭâhriti and Mimata.

This debars फक्। By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्टाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sûtra indicates, that Sûtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and फिञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus फाण्टाहृतः or फाण्टाहृतायनिः ; मैमतः or मैमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have फाण्टाहृतायनः and मैमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मिमत belongs to Naḍâdi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य : ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172, so that the form कौरव्यः is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sûtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sûtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix फिञ्. As कौरव्यायणिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra. Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yâjñyavalkya Smriti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ण्य not by this Sûtra, but by the succeeding sûtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be कैशिन्यः ॥ There will not be puṅvadbhâva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṅvadbhâva, then by भस्याढे ताद्धते, all Bha bases will become puṅvad before a taddhita affix except ढ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ण्य = केशिन् + ण्य ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of टि and we shall have केश्+ण्य = कैश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class With the exception of accent, it s treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथ्यः will be formed by the affix अण् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by ण्य ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वावदूक, 7 सम्राजः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 दामोष्णीषि, 18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुट, 21 शलाका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 अभ्र, 27 दर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूपर्णाय, 31 श्यावनाय, 32 श्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यंकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्कु, 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्तृ, 44 हर्तृ, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी), 47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिवत्स्वरवर्जम् (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49, काक, 50 स्फाण्टक, 51 घातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दात् कारिवचनेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिशब्दः कारूणां तन्तुवायादीनां वाचकः ॥

152. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshaṇa,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus कारिषेण्यः हारिषेण्यः, लाक्षण्यः, तान्तुवाय्यः, कौम्भकार्यः, नापित्यः ॥

उदीचामिञ् ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshaṇa,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिषेणिः, हारिषेणिः, लाक्षणिः, तान्तुवायिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ As to the word तक्षण 'carpenter.' See IV. I. 112. It will have ताक्षणः and ताक्ष्ण्यः, but will not take इञ् ॥ The word नापित being a Vṛiddha, non-gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV. I. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायनिः ॥

तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् ॥ १५४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus तैकायनिः, कैतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word औरश = उरसा शेते = उरशः क्षत्रियः, his son will be auraśa with, अञ् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. I. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. I. 150 will take the affix इञ् and not फिञ् of this Sûtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला (बाल) 5 शिखा, 6 उरस् (उरश), 7 शाट्य (शाठ्य) 8 सैन्धव, 9 यमुन्द, 10 रूप्य, 11 ग्राम्य, 12 नील, 13 अमित्र, 14 गौकक्ष्य, 15 कुरु (करु) 16 देवरथ, 17 तैतल (तैतिल) 18 औरस (औरश), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौलिकि, 22 चौपयत, 23 चैटयत, 24 शीकयत (शैकयत) 25 क्षैतयत, 26 वाजवत (ध्वाजवत K.) 27 चन्द्रमस्, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 सुपामन्, 32 आरद्ध (आरटव), 33 वह्यका, 34 खल्यका (खल्या; खल्य) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उदञ्ज (उदन्य) 38 य-

ज्ञ, 39 सुयामन्, 40 ऋश्य (ऋष्य), 41 भीत, 42 जाजल, 43 रस, 44 लावक, 45 ध्वजवद, 46 वसु, 47 बन्धु, 48 आवन्धका (as well as आबन्धका).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (फिञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दगुकोसलकर्मारच्छाग वृषाणां युट् ॥

155. The affix फिञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायणिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य," but they mean "the son of कोसल, and कर्मार," because of the following Vârtika

Vârt:—The words दगु, कोसल, कमार, छाग and वृष take the augment युट before the affix फिञ् ॥ Thus दागव्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥

अणो द्व्यचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तात् द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां वा फिञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इञ् ॥ Thus कार्त्रायणिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्त्रायणिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dâkshî' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word'? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârt:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix फिञ् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (फिञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं यच्छब्दरूपमगोत्रं तस्मादपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vriddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आम्रगुप्तायनिः "son of आम्रगुप्त," ग्रामरक्षायणिः 'son of ग्रामरक्ष' ॥ नापितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आम्रगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable'? Observe याज्ञदत्तिः 'son of यज्ञदत्त.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्-च (फिञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽपत्ये फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन चैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गारेधकायनिः ॥ This debars इञ् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गारेधिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गैधेर (गारेध K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कश्य K,), 4 काक, 5 लङ्का, 6 चर्मिवर्मिणोर्नलोपश्च ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्यः फिञ्प्रत्ययस्तस्मिन् परभूते ऽन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तस्य ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sûtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिञ् by IV. I. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रायणिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥ So also वात्सीपुत्रकायणिः, वात्सीपुत्रायणिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, फिन्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपादपत्ये फिन् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं प्राचां मतेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vriddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लौचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or आहिचुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, " not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable " ? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sûtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं ? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sûtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as दाक्षिः, प्लाक्षिः ॥

मनोर्जातावञ्यतौ षुक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातौ, अञ्-यतौ, षुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुशब्दादञ् यत् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्सन्नियोगेन षुगागमः समुदायेन चेज्जातिर्गम्यते ॥

Kârikâ अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सर्गिकः स्मृतः ।
नकारस्य च मूर्द्धन्यस्तेन सिद्ध्यति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अञ् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment षुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jâti).

Thus मनु+षुक्+अञ्=मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु+अण्=मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानवी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादिः, स्तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vanśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sûtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sûtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गर्गः

अपत्यम् — { गार्गिः (son or putra)
गार्ग्यः (Gotra)
गार्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gârga or Gârgi &c be alive).

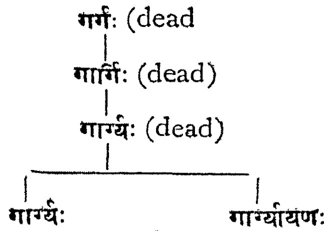
The force of the word तु, in the sûtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि (जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्त्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a वंश्यः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vanśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive ; thus:



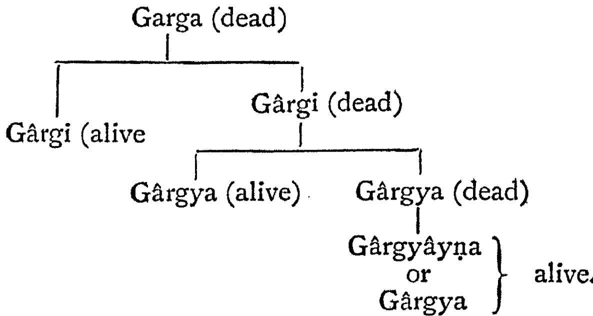
The word वंश्यः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vanśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sûtra applies to cases when Vanśya is not meant. Thus Gârgyâyṇa ia the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gârgya; similarly Vâtsyâyana, Dâkhsâyaṇa, and Plâkshâyaṇa.

वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, सपिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति (अपत्यं-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्ड स्थाविरतरे जीवति पौत्त्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapiṇḍa relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV. I. 163. This जीवति of the sûtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapiṇḍa thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाद्गोत्रं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञा वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याद्गोत्रं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word Vṛiddha is another term for Gotra. As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gargyâyana or Gârgya". This sûtra is in fact a Vârtika and not a sûtra of Pâṇini. Similarly तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः or वात्स्यः, तत्र भवान् दाक्षायणः or दाक्षिः ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, वात्स्यः and गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम् ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः,च,कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां यूनो वा युवसंज्ञो भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जाल्मः or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्मः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायणः ॥ This is also a Vârtika and not a sûtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्,क्षत्रियात् अञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्मादपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

168. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also ऐक्ष्वाकः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Drûhya'; पौरवः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas ? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchâla a Brahmaṇa'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

Vârt:—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पंचालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchâla or of the country of Pâñchâlas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchâla &c.originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchâla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchâla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pâṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sûtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sûtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां,च (अञ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sûtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyaṅ', the present sûtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya, or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhâri

or the king of Gândhâri?' The vârtika under Sûtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

द्व्यञ्मगधकलिंगसूरमसादण् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसात्-अण् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो द्व्यचो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix अण्, comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus आंगः, वांगः; मागधः, कालिङ्गः, and सौरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa.' Similarly पौण्ड्रः, सौह्मः ॥ The Vârtika 'तस्यराजनि' given above applies to this also, as आंगो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्,ञ्यङ् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकादिकारान्ताच्च कोसलाजादशब्दाभ्यां चापत्ये ञ्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाड् ड्यण् वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'ञ्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus, to give example of Vṛiddha words, आम्बष्ठ्यः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvîra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजाद्यः, which are neither Vṛiddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vârt:—The affix 'ḍyaṇ' comes after the word 'Pâṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पांड्यः, otherwise it will be पांडवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'aṇ' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषध्यः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोऽहमिति चेत्वम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिञ् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्यग्रथ-कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकशब्देभ्यश्चापत्ये इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

Kârikâ उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।
भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakûta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyâ woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121) formed by ढक्; also साल्वः formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarâḥ, Tilakhalâḥ, Madrakarâḥ, Yugandharâḥ, Bhuliṅgâḥ and Śaradaṇḍâḥ. The patronymic from these will be: औदुम्बरिः,तैलखलिः,माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः,भौलिङ्गिःand शारदण्डिः॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍha, and Ájakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीढिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽञादयस्तद्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अञ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sûtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrâja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोलाद्यर्थम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely the affix अञ् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja'.

Vârt:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of Cholâs'. So also केरलः शकः, यवनः ॥

स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरु-भ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुशब्देभ्य उत्पन्नस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'ṇyaṅ'. (IV. 1. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ṇya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरूः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौरव्यः and कौन्त्यः ॥

अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शूरसेनी ; *m.* माद्रः, *f.* मद्री ॥ The word अतः of the sûtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I. 1. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadraja affix ending in अ is elided". There have been taught five Tadraja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'aṇ (अ)', 'ñyaṅ (य)', 'ṇya (य)' and 'in (इ)'. Of these the first four all end in अ ; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sûtra, for then the present sûtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sûtra IV. 1. 176 indicates by ज्ञापक, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of आम्बष्ठ्यः is आम्बष्ठ्या, of सौवीर्यः is सौवीर्या ॥

नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्यश्चोत्पन्नस्य लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन स्त्रियां लुक् प्राप्तः प्रतिषिध्यति ॥

178. The Tadarâja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sûtra debars the elision of the Tadrâja affix अ (required by the last sûtra). Thus पांचाली, वैदेही, आंगी, वांगी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Śarâvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कारुषी, कैकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, शौभ्रेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥ The Tadrâja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyâya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अञ्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrâja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadraja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadraja affix अण् in (V. 3. 117) added to पर्शु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्शवः f पर्शूः, m आसुरः f असुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 करूश (करूष), 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 उरस (उरश and उरस). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 कौक्रेय, 3 शौभ्रेय, 4 ज्याबाणेय (यावाणेय), 5 धौर्तेय (धार्तेयः धार्तेय) 6 त्रिगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशीनर, 9 वार्तेय ॥

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद्रागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्रक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रञ्ज् means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus काषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मांजिष्ठम्, कौसुम्भम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्यांघ्री" the words काषाय and हारिद्र are used metaphorically.

From this sûtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमाट्ठक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो रागवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अन् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीतात् कन् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामञ्वक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lâkshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं=लाक्षिकम्, so also रौचनिकम्, शाकलिकम् and कार्दमिकम् ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दमः । Thus शाकलम् and कार्दमम् ॥ According to Mahâbhâshya the words शकल and कर्दम do not occur in the sûtra, but are given in the Vârtika.

Vârt:—The affix अन् comes after नीलीः as नील्या रक्तं=नीलं वस्त्रं ॥

Vart:—The affix कन् (I. 3. 8) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्तं=पीतकम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix अञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महाराजन, as हारिद्रम् and माहाराजनम् ॥

नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति । योसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्स भवति ॥

3. The affix अण् already ordained IV. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus पुष्य+अण्=पौषः (VI. 4. 149) e. g. पौषिरात्रिः "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also माघी रात्रिः ; पौषमह 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December'. so also माघमह 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमाः ॥

लुबविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति अविशेषे ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अद्य: पुष्य: 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night; when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रवणशब्दादश्वत्थशब्दाच्चोत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Sravana and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus श्रवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्थो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇâ; the Muhûrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say श्रवणाः रात्रिः and not श्रवणं रात्रिः The reason is that श्रवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pâṇini himself uses it in sûtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñâ'? Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्थी रात्रिः ।

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वात्तृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sûtra, being a subsequent sûtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्येतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्ट साम चेत्तद्भवति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sâma Veda.

Thus क्रुञ्चेन दृष्टं = क्रौञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sâma seen by (or revealed to) Kruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेर्ढक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यांढग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम ॥ दृष्टे सामनि अण् वा डिद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे योऽन्येन बाधितः पुनरण्विधीयते स वा डिद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयादीकक् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोत्राद्वुञ्वदिष्यते ॥

Kârikâ दृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डिद्वा विधीयते ।
तीयादीकक् न विद्याया गोत्राद्वुञ्वदिष्यते ॥

8. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of Sâma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम=कालेयं ॥ "The Sâma Veda revealed to Kali". This sûtra is really a Vârtika and not a sûtra of Pâṇini.

Vârt:—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम=आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भवं=आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्नेरागतं "what has come from Agni" =आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vârt:—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory ड् when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उशनसा दृष्टं साम=औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of डित् being to elide the टि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vârt:—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डित्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sûtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ठञ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus शतभिषजि जातः=शतभिषः or शतभिषजः ॥

Vârt:—The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वैतीयीकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तार्तीयीकम् or तृतीयकम ॥

Vârt:—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vârt:—The affix वुञ् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kâpaṭava'. The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाड्, ड्यड्, ड्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

Kârikâ सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ डितौ ।
ग्रहणं माऽतदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

9. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word Vâmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्टं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in 'ḍyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory ड्?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a डित् affix is added, by VI. 4. 143.

Q. The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix डित्, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix डित्?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'ḍya' and 'ḍyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेव्यं ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत्स भवति ॥

10. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्रः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also काम्बलः, चार्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not complętly surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debars अण्॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, the present sûtra is made in order to debar the affix अण्॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमारं इत्येतदण्प्रत्ययान्तं निपात्यते ऽपूर्ववचने ॥

Kârikâ कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अण्विधीयते ।
अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीतिवा ॥

13. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपतिं कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याम् भवः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थादमत्रवाचिनः शब्दादुद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्र means 'vessels': उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus शरावेषूद्धृतः = शाराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also माल्लिकः, कार्परः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणावुद्धृत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sûtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थाण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachârî.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = भ्राष्टाः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालशाः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'— i. e. meat. So also उख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्नष्ठक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्नः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिशब्दात् सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the दाधिकं formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd; while the दाधिकं of this sûtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदश्वितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदश्विच्छब्दात् सप्तमी समर्थात् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उदश्वित्** ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीराड्ढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षैरेयी यवागूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पौर्णमासी चेद्भवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sûtras of Pâṇini; but is added by a Vartika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sûtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year ".

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्=पौषो मासः 'the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'. Similarly पौषऽर्द्धमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarâtra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sûtra by the Vârtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो माः=पूर्णमाः, पूर्णमास इयम्=पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means "moon".

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाट्ठक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्थात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दादश्वत्थशब्दाच्च प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमास्युपाधिकाद् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words 'agrahâyanî' and 'asvattha' ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-noon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sûtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ' the month called Agrâhâyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahâyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्त्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायामित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ढक् optionally comes after the words 'Phâlgunî', 'Sravanâ', 'Kârtikî' and 'Chaitrî' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिक, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when someting is to be spoken of as his.

सा='after a word in the 1st case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य=ऐन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly आदित्यम् 'oblation belonging to Âditya'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a *deity*"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥ In the sentnces ऐन्द्रोमन्त्राः and आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणोदेवतयेति the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sûtra IV. 2. 35. Though the word स was understood in this sûtra by anuvṛitti from sûtra IV. 2. 21, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of संज्ञा does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this sûtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍâsá &c offered in a sacrifice'.

कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारादेशो भवति प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन ॥

25. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.,

Thus क+अण्=कि+अण्=कै+अ=कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः, कायमकंकपालं निर्वपेत् ॥

शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रशब्दात्सास्य दैवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus शुक्र+घन्=शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

अपोनप्त्रपान्नप्तृभ्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्तृ, अपाम् नप्तृभ्याम् घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

27. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apannaptri', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपांनप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपांनपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्तृ when the affix is to be added.

छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्तृ अपान्नप्तृ इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतरुद्राच्छश्चघश्च ॥

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apannaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptṛi. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयं or अपान्नप्त्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apânnapât'. This is made a separate sûtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sûtra would have run thus: "The affixes घ and छ come after Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptṛi", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been "the affix घ comes after Aponaptṛi, and छ after Apânnaptṛi". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sûtras.

Vârt :—The affix छ comes after the words पैंगाक्षीपुत्र &c. As, पैंगाक्षीपुत्रीयम्, तार्णबिन्दवीयम् ॥

Vârt :—The word शतरुद्र takes घ and छ both : e. g. शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रियं ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणौ च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्रशब्दाद् घाणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, चकारच्छश्च, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and माहेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमशब्दाद् ट्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of ट्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य+ङीप् (IV. 1. 15)=सौम्+ई (VI. 4. 150)=सौमी ॥

वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उषसः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाय्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vâyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उषस्यम् ॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ+यत्=पित्+रीङ्+यत् (VII. 4. 27)=पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पित्र्य has udâtta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-षोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-।-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ द्यावापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ Prithivî', 'Sunâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अण् &c. Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śîra (Sun)'. मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

अग्नेर्ढक् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निशब्दात् ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्दीव्यतीयेषु तद्धितार्थेषु सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्यां ढग्वक्तव्यः ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निर्देवताऽस्य = आग्नेयोऽष्टकपालः ॥

Vârt:—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatîya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भववत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये। कालाट्ठञिति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेष्यन्ते, तदर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of साऽस्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवं = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास = इक VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाट्ठञ् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ठञ्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्त्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासादण् ॥

35. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = माहाराजिकम्; प्रौष्ठपदिकं ॥

Vârt :—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

Vârt :—After the word पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह, पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवेर्दुग्धे सोढदूसमरीसचोवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्जश्छन्दसि डिच्च ॥

36. The words 'pitrivya, a father's brother', 'mâtula, a mother's brother', 'mâtâmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitâmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may ennunciate the following rules :—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यड् डुलचौ "the affixes व्यत् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mâtṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be ताभ्यां पितरि डामहच्, मातरिषिच्च 'and the affix ḍâmahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indi catory ष् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

Vârt :—The affixes सोढ, दूस, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्दुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूसम् or अविमरीसम् ॥

Vârt :—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vârt :—The affix पिञ्ज is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिल्पिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो ग्रामज्वक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udâtta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sûtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix ठक् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudâtta on the first syllable will have the affix अञ् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like केदार &c take यञ् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is :—काकानां समूहः = काकम् 'a collection of crows' बाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sûtras up to sûtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

Vârt:—The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणग्रामः 'a collection of qualities', करणग्रामः &c. The following is some of such words :— गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an âkṛitigaṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sûtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः = भैक्षम् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण् + अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ढ, भस्याढे तद्धिते) = गार्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः = यौवतम् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 क्षेत्र, 4 करीष, 5 अङ्गार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मिन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पदाति, 10 पद्धति, 11 अथर्वन, (also अर्वन् K.) 12 दक्षिणा, 13 भूत, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र. also 16 धर्मिन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरभ्र, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकम्, औक्षकम्, (VI. 4. 144) औष्ट्रकम्, औरभ्रकम्, राजकम्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकम्, राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम्, मानुष्यकम्, आजकम्, ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक् is added (VI. 4. 150)

Vârt:—Also after the word वृद्ध; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदाराद्यञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारात्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारशब्दाद् यञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाश्च यञ्वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix यञ as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ठक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदाराणाम् समूहः = कैदार्यम् or कैदारकम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गाणिक्यम् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिन्शब्दाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 144); and कैदारिकम्. We read the anuvṛitti of केदार in this Sûtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अह्नः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पर्श्वा णस्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वातादूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhma*n*a', 'mâ*n*ava', and 'vâ*d*ava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vârt:—Also after the word पृष्ठ e. g. पृष्ठ्यः ॥

Vârt:—The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आह्नः by अञ् see IV. 2. 45.

Vârt:—The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final उ of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

Vârt:—The affix ऊल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गजाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

43, The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grâma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahâya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तल् are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

Vârt:—The affix '*tal*' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः शब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudâtta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम् ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kârikâ अञ्सिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कोऽर्थः क्षुद्रकमालवात् ।
गोत्राद्वुञ् न च तद्गोत्रं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥
ज्ञापकं स्यात्तदन्तत्वे तथा चापिशलेर्विधिः ।
सेनायां नियमार्थं च यथा बाध्येत चाञ् वुञा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Kha*nd*ika &c.

This sûtra applies to words having anudâtta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खाण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word क्षुद्रकमालवं is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words क्षुद्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrâja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛiddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudâtta : and therefore by the last sûtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ?. It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take वुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word क्षुद्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ?. To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules: (1) that वुञ् affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus औपगव and कापटव are anudâttâdi words because formed by अण् (III. 1. 2), and require therefore अञ् by IV. 2. 44, but वुञ् supersedes it, and we have औपगवकम् and कापटवकम्॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vârtika under I. 1. 72. As वानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम्॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapâṭha is क्षुद्रकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion सेना &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a सेना 'army' and not otherwise. As क्षौद्रकमालवी सेना, otherwise क्षौद्रकमालवकं॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sûtra of the Grammarian Âpisâli also धेनुरनञि ठकमुत्पादयति 'the affix ठक् comes after धेनु in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle नञ्', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 क्षुद्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vârttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 भिक्षुक, 5 शुक, 6 उलूक, 7 श्वन्, 8 अहन्, 9 युगवरत्र, (वरत्रा v. l.; युग, वरत्रा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बन्धा).

चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sûtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sûtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishti* under that Sûtra :—चरणद्धर्माम्नाययोः॥ Thus कठानां धर्म =काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः =काठकम्॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थिक्यम् and आथर्वणम्॥

अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनञ इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अण् and अञ्॥ The अपूपानां समूहः =आपूपिकम्॥ The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50) or क (VII. 3. 50). Thus हास्तिकम्, धैनुकम्, शाष्कुलिकम्॥

Vârt:—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नञ् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अश्वाभ्याम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केश अश्व इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो ऽन्यतरस्यां तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अश्वानां समूहः = आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63) अश्वीयम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः

वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाटल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 नट (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यचश्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यचः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यम् इनि त्र कट्यच् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य समुह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धच् प्रत्ययः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'kaṭyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकट्या ।

Vârt:—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥

Vârt:—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमलखण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

Vârt:—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vârt:—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् विषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशश्चेत्स भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛitti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛitti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sûtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sûtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the Śibi'. So also औष्ट्रः &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, दैवायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रव्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 दैवयात (दैवयातव; दैवयान.), 6 अब्रीड, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय, 12 अम्बरीषपुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बैल्ववन. 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वज) 19 आर्जुनायन, 20 संप्रिय, 21 दाक्षि, 22 ऊर्णनाभ. 23 आप्रीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वात्रक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, ऐषुकार्य्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भक्तलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्य ऐषुकार्यादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यं विधल् भक्तल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विषयो देश इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukàri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधः, वैपेयविधः &c. ऐषुकारिभक्तः, सारस्यायनभक्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत*, 4 चैटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणिजक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य; वालिज, वालिज्यक), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत.), 9 वैकयत. 10 वैपेय.

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 द्व्याक्षायण, 5 त्र्याक्षायण (त्र्यायण), 6 औडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमित्रि, 10 दासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्राण), 12 दाक्षायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 तार्क्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शयण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 शयाण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 तापिण्डि. 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 अलायत, 30 औलालायत.

सोस्यादिरितिच्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं छन्दश्चेत्तदादिर्भवति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथाश्चेत्ते भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेनपुंसके स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith.

The words of this sûtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sûtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre. Thus पंक्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पांक्तः which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha. Pragâtha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षगानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vârt:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च शब्देभ्यः प्रथमासमर्थेभ्योऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This भद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = भाद्रः "A battle fought for Bhadrâ". So also सौभाद्रः "a battle fought to gain Subhadrâ". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimâlâ warriors' So also स्यान्दनाश्वः, भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्, इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यत्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्भवति, यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sûtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction,

denoting the name of a weapon; ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दाण्डा "a game played with sticks". So मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by आ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः॥ ५८॥ पदानि॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-ञः॥

वृत्तिः॥ घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे ञः प्रत्ययो भवति॥

58. The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that', अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sûtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्यैनंपाता, so also तैलंपाता॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्यैनंपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलंपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sûtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sûtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौवर्तते = दाण्डपाता तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः॥

तदधीते तद्वेद॥ ५९॥ पदानि॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद॥

वृत्तिः॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थे योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sûtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्दसः 'who studies Prosody'. वैयाकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैरुक्तः, नैमित्तः 'who knows the causes'. मौहूर्तः, औत्पातः॥

The word तद् is repeated in this sûtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-उक्थादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुविशेषवाचिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यष्ठग्वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम ॥ अनुसूर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्पदोत्तरपदात् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतषष्टेः षिकन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sûtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishṭoma Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, औक्थिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः,सांग्रहसूत्रिकः ॥

Ishti :—If a word ending in 'sûtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus : काल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sûtra'.

Vârt :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिकः, सार्पविद्यिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vârt :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धार्मविद्यः, सांसर्गविद्यः, त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vârt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रैयङ्गविकः. वासवदत्तिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, सवार्तिकः, ससंग्रहः, द्विवेदः पंचव्याकरणः ॥

Vârt :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनसु, लक्ष्य, and लक्षण; As अनसुर्नामग्रन्थ स्तमधीते = आनुसुकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix इकन् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

Vârt :—The affix षिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षष्टिपथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. 1. 41), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शातपथः and षाष्टिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 द्विपदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 च-

र्चा, 15 क्रमेतर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात also संघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 संग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st. गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद. 26 अनुगुण.

क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् ॥ ६१ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. I. I) पदकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmana'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मतुप्, and by Sûtra V. 2. 115 अत इनि ठनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठन् in the sense of मतुप्; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

वसन्तादिभ्यष्ठक् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यष्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्विषये । अणोऽपवादः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c.'

This debars अण् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 प्रथम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अथर्वन् 12 ग्रीष्म,

प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्तात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादध्येतृवेदित्रोरुत्पन्नस्य लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pâṇini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिशलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीयं meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीयं formed with अण्, meaning who studies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sûtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अण्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by टाप्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phiṭ Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधादुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sûtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pâṇini sûtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकाः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Ashṭaka'. So also दशका वैयाघ्रपदीयाः, त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

Vârt:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a *numeral*: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्त्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्त्तिकः, so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate"? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टयः ॥ This sûtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तग्रहणमनुवर्त्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brâhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sûtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brâhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brâhmaṇas. That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, except when an अध्येतृ or

वैविद्व affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda anounced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kaṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कट, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ+णिनि=कट+0 (IV. 3. 107); कठ+अण्= कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sûtra are: मौदाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Muda'. पैप्पलादः, आर्चाभिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalâda, Richâva, or Vâjasaneya". Similarly with words denoting a Brâhmaṇa-Text. Thus: ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भाल्लविनः (IV. 3. 105), शाट्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिणः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brâhmaṇas announced by Tâṇdya, Bhallava, Śâṭyâyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brâhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sûtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brâhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brâhmaṇa announced by Yâjnyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि= याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलभानि ॥ These Brâhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sûtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sútra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sûtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kâśyapa or Kuśika' so also sûtra: as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sûtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नटाः. कर्मन्दिनः, कृशाश्विनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brâhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its *own* significance, pure and simple; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैङ्गीकल्पः ॥

The Quadruply-significant affixes.

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नाम्नि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्भवति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशश्चेत्स तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of–"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशेतन्नाम्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:--"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sûtra and the three subsequent sûtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sûtras,are called चातुरर्थिक "quadruple significants".

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बाल्बजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sûtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्वृत्तमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sûtra governs this and the two subsequent sûtras. By these four sûtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśâmbî, completed by Kuśâmba". Similarly साहस्री परिखा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sûtra literally means "his dwelling place'. A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is, Thus शैवः "the country of

the Śibis", औशिदः ॥ ऋजुनावान्निवासो देशः = आर्जुनावः ॥ The word ऋजुनावां = ऋज्वीनै र्येष॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाददूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sûtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genetive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिशाया अदूर भवं = वैदिशम् is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśâ flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sûtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sûtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरञ् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्यथाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्तादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तदस्मिन्नस्तीत्येवमादिष्वर्थेषु । अणोऽपवादः ॥

71. The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus आरडवम् from अरडु 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काक्षतवम् from कक्षतु, and कार्कटेलवम् from कर्कटेलु ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumatî, named after the sugar-canes near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sûtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अञ् governs the six sûtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बह्वजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बह्वच्-अङ्गात्-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वज् अङ्गं यस्यासौ बह्वजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । अणोऽपवादः ॥

72. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बह्वजङ्ग is a compound of बह्वच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

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of the affix मतुप्, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ् ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus ऐषुकावतम्, सैध्रकावतम् ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe आहिमतम् यावमतम् ॥ Here though the word अहिमत् ends in the affix मतुप्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मतुप्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावतां निवासः = मालावतम् by अण् ॥

बह्वचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वचः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः कूपेष्वभिधेयेषु ॥

73. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दैर्घवरत्रः "a well completed by Dîrghavaratra". So also कापिलवरत्रः ॥

उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपास्तेष्वभिधेयेष्वञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

74. The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâsâ.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus दात्तः "a well completed by Datta", गौप्तः &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply as दात्तः and गौप्तः, the difference being in the accent. This sûtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । अणोपवादः ॥

75. The affix अञ् comes after the words sankala &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण् ॥ The word संकलः is equivalent to संगतः कलः ॥ Thus सांकलः, पौष्कलः &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम*, 4 उडुप, 5 उद्वेप (उद्वप), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुदक्ष, 10 सुदत्त, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत*, 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल*, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत*, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका ; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 51 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 बहुल, 32 सद्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 भल्ल, 37 मल्ल*, 38 माल. also 39 शर्मन्, 40 गृह, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राक्षु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राक्षु-(अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे देशे वाच्ये साल्वे प्राचि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशेतन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67) : so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्री "the city founded by Dattâmîtra" (in Sauvîra). So also वैधूमाग्नी (in Sâlva) काकन्दी, माकन्दी, माणिच्चरी, जारुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV.2,71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगरं = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sûtra debars sûtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 भण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवालिन् (सेचालिन्), 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 कर्कन्धुमती (कर्कन्धू), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 अहिसक्थ 16 वृत् ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after रोणी in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74. This sûtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sûtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under *all* circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sûtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रौणः, आजकरौणः or सैंहिकरौणः

कोपधाच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

79. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क for its penultimate.

This debars अञ् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

वुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरढञ्ण्ययफक्फिञिञ्ञ्यककठकोऽरीहणकृशाश्वर्श्यकुमुदकाशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥

पदानि ॥ वुञ्-छण्-क-ठच्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ढञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिञ्-इञ्-ञ्य-कक्-ठकोः;अ-रीहण-कृशाश्व-ऋश्य-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुतङ्गम-प्रगदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वुञादयः सप्तदश प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि सप्तदशैव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । तत्र यथासख्यं सप्तदशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणेभ्यः सप्तदश प्रत्यया भवन्ति चातुरर्थिकाः ॥ यथाः— (1) अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कृशाश्वादिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काशादिभ्य इलः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणादिभ्यः शः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (9) सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाशादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14) सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहादिभ्यः कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1. वुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (=ईय) after कृशाश्व &c. 3. क after ऋश्य &c. 4. ठच् (=इक) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल after काश &c. 6. स (or श) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ढञ् (=एय) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (=आयन) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इञ् (इ) after सुतंगम &c. 15. ञ्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कक् (क) after वराह &c. 17. ठक् (इक) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes वुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words. आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sûtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) औरीहणकम्, द्रौघणकम् (2) कार्शाश्वीयः, आरष्टीयः, (3) ऋश्यकः, न्यग्रोधकः, (4) कुमुदिकम्, शर्करिकम्, (5) वाशिलम्, काशिलम्, (6) तृणसः, नडसः, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, हलाकिन्, (8) अश्मरः, (9) साखेयम्, साखिदत्तेयम्, 10 सांकाश्यम्, काम्पिल्यम्, (11) बल्यः, कल्यम्, (12) पाक्षायणः, तौषायणः, (13) कार्णायनिः, वासिष्ठायनिः, (14) सैतङ्गमिः, मौनिचित्तिः, (15) प्रागद्य (16) वाराहकम्, पालाशकम्, and (17) lastly कौमुदिकम् ॥

The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14), and वराहादि (3), Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 द्रुघण, 3 द्रुहण*, 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्ट्रायण, 9 औष्ट्रायण*, 10 त्रैगर्तायन, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 गौमतायन (गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धौमतायन*, 18 सौमायन*. 19 ऐन्द्रायण*, 20 कौन्द्रायण*, 21 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विपथ, 25 विपाश, 26 उद्दण्ड, 27 उदञ्चन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृत्स्न (कश.), 31 जाम्बवत (वन्त), 32 शिंशपा, 33 रैवत (रेवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 दलतृ*, 42 भलन्दन*, 43 खण्डु*, 44 कनल* (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त*. 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेश्मन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश*, 7 रोमश*, 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक*, 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वर्चल*, 13 सुवर्चल*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता), 24 अवनत, 25 विकुब्यास (v. l. कुविद्यास ; विकुघास), 26 पराशर*, 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्*, 29 मौद्गल्य, 30 शूकर* (मौद्गल्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अयावस्

1 ऋश्य, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. l. निबन्धन ; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत*, 15 वेश्मन्*, 16 उत्तराश्मन्, 17 अश्मन्*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह्, 23 अरडु*, 24 परिवंश, 25 वेणु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 दण्ड*, 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यग्रोध, 4 इक्कट (इत्कट, उत्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास*, 11 शकट*, 12 कच*, 13 मधु*, 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व*, 16 अश्वत्थ, 17 बल्बज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशग्राम. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 त्रिक, 25 कत.

1 काश, 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूक्षा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन, 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छूल*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (बिश and विस), 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर*, 18 मधुर*, 19 ग्रह (गुह) 20 कपित्थ*, 21 जतु, 22 शीपाल.: 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 तृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण*, 8 बिल*, 9 पुल*, 10 फल*, 11 अर्जुन*, 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 बुस. 17 जन, 18 लव.

1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका 6 न्यग्रोध, 7 इक्कट (इर्कट). 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट*, 11 कूप*, 12 बुक*, 13 पुक*, 14 पुट*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप*, 17 यवाष* (d. i. यवास), 18 धुवका*, 19 गर्त*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य*. 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक.

1 अश्मन्, 2 यूथ (also ग्रुष), 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नद, 6 दर्भ, 7 वृन्द, 8 गुद*, 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पाम (पांम!), 14 कन्द*, 15 कान्द*, 17 गह्व*, 18 गुड*, 19 कूण्डल*, 20 पीन*. 21 गह*.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 सखिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल 7 प.ल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक*, 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव*, 14 वीर*, 15 पूर*, 16 वज्र*, 17 कुशीरक*, 18 सोहर (शोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 काम्पिल, 3 कश्मीर (कश्मर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक*, 7 सूर*, 8 सुपन्थिन् (rightly सुपथिन्), पन्थ (सक्थ!) च, 9 यूप (यूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग*, 12 नासा*, 13 पलित*, 14 अनुनाश*, 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश*, 19 कुम्भ*, 20 शीर्ष*, 21 विरत (चिरन्त; बिरत!), 22 समल*, 23 सीर*, 24 पञ्जर*, 25 मन्थ*, 26 नल*, 27 रोमन*, 28 लोमन्*, 29 पुलिन*, 30 सुपरि*, 31 कटिप*, 32 सकर्णक*, 33 वृष्टि*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर*, 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 नल*, 4 दल*, 5 वट*, 6 लकुल*, 7 उरल*, 8 पुल*, 9 मूल*, 10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पक्ष, 2 तुक्ष*, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड*, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बालिक), 7 वलिक*, 8 चित्र 9 अस्ति*, 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिश्वन् (स्वन्). 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्*, 21 मकर*, 22 लोमक, 23 शीर्ष*, 24 निवात*, 25 पाक*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अंकुश*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक (हंसका), 30 हिंसक*, 31 कुत्स*, 32 बिल*, 33 खिल*, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला*, 37 सकर्णक (सकण्डक), 38 अश्मन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 द्रुपद (डुपद), 6 आनडुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 स्फिज्, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ता), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डीवत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव*, 16 जैत्र*, 17 आनक*, 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

1 सुतंगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्त), 3 विप्रचित (चित्त), 4 महाचित्त*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन*, 7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विग्र, 11 बीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 श्वन्, 14 अजिर, 15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विग्रह*,

1 प्रगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मदविन्, (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव), 6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार*, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निबद्ध, 6 बलाह*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विदग्ध, 9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न*, 12 बाहु, 13 खदिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमथ, 3 रथकार, 4 दशग्राम, 5 अश्वत्थ, 6 शाल्मलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनिस्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्द*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशे तन्नाम्नीति यश्चातुरर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुब्भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sûtra are added by the reading together of this sûtra with sûtra I, 2, 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pâṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sûtra. The aphorism literally means: (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां निवासो जनपदः = पंचालाः। So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्माः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुरर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरभवं नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varaṇâ", So slso शृङ्गी, शाल्मलयः ॥

The word च in the sûtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकबदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 शृङ्गी, 3 शाल्मलि, 4 शुण्डी*, 5 शयाण्डी°, 6 पर्णी, 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वौ गोदौ, पूर्वेण गोदौ, अपरेण गोदौ), 9 आलिङ्ग्यायन, 10 जानपदी (जालपदी; जालपद) 11 जम्बू*, 12 पुष्कर*, 13 चम्पा*, 14 पम्पा*, 15 वल्गु°, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा) 21 गोमती°, 22 वलभी*, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्दुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वैणिक, Is an आकृतिगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादुत्पन्नस्य चातुरर्थिकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुब् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes ठच् and कक् taught therein: for had itnot taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore. teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + अण् = शार्करम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दाट्ठक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतश्चातुरर्थिकौ ॥

84. The affix **ठक्** and **छ** come after the word **शर्करा** in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sûtra, two by the last, and two by the sûtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शार्करम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठच्), शार्करकम् (formed by कक्), शार्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ).

नद्यां मतुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

85. The affix **मतुप्** is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्). Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, द्रुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udâtta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैमरथी, which are formed by अण् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो मतुप्प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

86. The affix **मतुप्** is added to the words **मधु** &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a *river*. As मधुमान्, विसवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (किरीर) 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्याण (शर्पणा) 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दाली*, 13 शर, 14 इष्टका, 15 आसुति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 आमिषी (आमिधी) 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (मुष्टि हृष्टि) 24 रुष्य 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खडा) 27 वट*, 28 वेट (वेटा) 29 रम्य, 30 ऋक्ष, 38 मरुव, 32 दार्वाघाट.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ड्मतुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-ड्मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्य शब्देभ्यो ड्मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महिषाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix **ड्मतुप्** comes after the words **कुमुद**, **नड** and **वेतस**, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vârt :—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाड् ड्वलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-ड्वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादशब्दाभ्यां ड्वलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

88. The affix ड्वलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नड्वलम् and शाद्वलम् ॥

शिखाया वलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-वलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखाशब्दाद्वलच प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥

89. The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Śikhâ-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes वलच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as मतुप् V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That वलच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चातुरर्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्करीयम्, शफरीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संफल, 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अश्मन्, 7 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक*, 12 त्रैवण*, 13 पिचुक, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (शकाक्षुद्र st. काश, क्षुद्र) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल, 19 जन्या, 20 अजिर (अजिन) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (शान्त) 24 खदिर, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यावनाय, 27 नैवाकव (नैव, बक) 28 तृण*, 29 वृक्ष 30 शाक*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा*, 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 फल*, 36 संपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक*, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निशान्त*, 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचायक*, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार*, 49 विशाल, 50 वेत्र, 51 अरीहण*, 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर 54 मन्त्रणार्ह*, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष) 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मञ्च, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष.

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चातुरर्थिकः । यथासंभवमर्थसंबन्धः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रुञ्चाया ह्रस्वत्वंच । तक्षन्नलोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a कुक् after the stem. As नड+कुक्+छ=नडकीयम्; प्लक्षकीयम्, &c.

The words क्रुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of क्रुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided: e. g. क्रुंचकीयम्, तक्षकीयम्॥

1 नड, 2 प्लक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेत्र, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 क्रुञ्चा (क्रुञ्चाया) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोयम्। यानित ऊर्ध्वं प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽर्थे ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification', the last, be called शेष or the remainder'—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c. Thus चाक्षुषं 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चक्षुष्; श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रवण, औपनिषदः 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, दार्षदः from दृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चातुरं 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चातुर्दशम् 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz a goblin; औलूखलः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley: आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), आगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus स्रौघ्नः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)"

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घ-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र अवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं घखावित्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विगृहीतादपीष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताच्च ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

Vârt:—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank', पारावारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sûtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is घ, and the last where of are ख्यु (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballantyne's Laghu Kaumudi).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दाच्च खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grâma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कत्त्र्यादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्त्रि-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्त्रि इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपश्च ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (एयक) comes after the words कत्त्रि &c.

As कात्त्रेयकः, औम्भेयकः &c.

1 कत्त्रि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 उख्या, 12 ग्राम, 13 कुड्याया (कुल्याया) यलोपश्च, 14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-ग्रीवाभ्यः, श्व-असि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं श्वन् असि अलंकार इत्येतेषु जातादिष्वर्थेषु ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. ' The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), ग्रैवेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and ग्रैवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक (एय) comes after the words 'nadî' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नादेयं, 'pertaining to a river', माहेयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 मही, 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको) 7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वा*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडवाया वृषे, 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पौर्वनगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पुर्—वन—गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पौरेयम, वानेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshinâ', 'paschât' and 'puras' the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दाक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पाश्चात्यः 'occidental', पौरस्त्यः 'oriental'.

कापिश्याः ष्फक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिश्याः, ष्फक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिशीशब्दात् ष्फक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बाह्ल्युर्दिपर्दिभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kâpisî', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor',

Vârt:—So also after बाह्लि, उर्दि and पर्दि as, बाह्लायनी, और्दायनी, पार्दायनी ॥ This debars वुञ् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्कोरमनुष्येऽण् च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्कोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्फक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्कुशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्ष्फक्च शैषिको ऽमनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

100. After the word रंकु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राङ्कवो गौः or राङ्कवायणो गौः but राङ्कवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रंकु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sûtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysha is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राङ्कवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sûtra. The अण् is repeated in this sûtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रंकु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वुञ् of IV. 2. 125, and वुञ् is debarred by ठञ् of IV. 2. 119, and ठञ् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sûtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राच् अपाच् उदच् प्रत्यच् इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ।

101. After the words '*div*', '*prâch*', '*apâch*', '*udach*' and '*pratyach*', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g, प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्थायाष्ठक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्थायाः ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाशब्दाट्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥



102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

वर्णौ वुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णौ-वुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाया इत्येव । वर्णौ या कन्था तस्या वुक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix वुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्थकम् ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

Kârikâ अमेहक्वतसित्रेभ्यस्त्यब्विधिर्यो ऽव्ययात्स्मृतः ।
निर्निभ्यां ध्रुवगत्योश्च प्रवेशो नियमे तथा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्यब्नेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निसो गते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आविसश्छन्दसि ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याण्णोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दूरादेत्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरादाहञ् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables:—अमा 'together', इह 'here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and त्र (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, क्वत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तत्रत्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्टः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vriddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीय ॥

Vârt:—The त्यप् is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, नित्यम् = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vârt:—The त्यप् is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निष्ट्यः "Chandalas &c who have *gone out* of the caste".

Vârt:—The त्यप् is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas: As, आविष्ट्यो वर्द्धते ॥

Vârt:—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vârt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरेत्यः पथिकः ॥

Vârt:—The affix आहञ् comes after उत्तर e. g. औत्तराहः ॥

ऐषमोह्यः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

105. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'śvas' takes the augment तुट् also, hence the above three forms.

तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्ञौ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीरोत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपदिकाद्यथासंख्यमञ् ञ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

106. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ञ comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्वलतीरम्, वार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in ञ take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4). The sûtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण् ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-ञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकादसंज्ञा विषयाद् ञः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

107. The affix ञ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix ञ is added, forming the feminine in आ ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला+ञ =पौर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly दाक्षिणशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वेषुकामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वैषुकामशमः (VII. 3. 14), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पूर्व+इषुकामशमी; "Ishukâmshamî-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛiddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛiddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरैषुकामशमः "who is in Ishukâmashamî-in-the-West".

The word 'पदं' is used in the sûtra for the sake of percision, for had the sûtra been दिक्पूर्वात्संज्ञायां, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदान्मद्रशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्र, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पौर्वमद्रः *f.* °द्री; आपरमद्रः *f.* द्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sûtra, the initial vowel is vṛiddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्र ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चबह्वचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग्ग्रहणं निवृत्तम् । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्ताद् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udâtta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debars अण् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, माण्डपुरम ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माथुरम् formed by अण्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Obseve घ्रुञ्जी—घ्रजम् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्करीधानम ॥ Here धा is udâtta by VI. 1. 194, taking लित् accent.

प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थोत्तरपदात् पलद्यादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus मार्द्रीप्रस्थः, माहकीप्रस्थः, पालदः, पारिषदः, नैलिनकः, चैयातकः ॥

In the class Paladyâdi, those words which denote villages of वाहीकं, will not take ञ्य or ञिठ् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौष्ठी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladî class, and consequently it does not take the affix वुञ् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word वाहीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladî class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sûtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट) 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट) 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौष्ठी, 12 नैकती (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 शूरसेन, 15 गोमती, 16 पटच्चर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि) 18 यकृल्लोम, 19 सकृल्लोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तद्वंशे संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे यः प्रत्ययो विहितस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus काण्वाः "the pupils of Kâṇva". गौकक्षाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word काण्व, when it means कण्व देवतास्य, forms its secondary derivative काण्वीयम् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargâdi. The Family-names from कण्व and गोकक्ष are काण्व्य and गौकाक्ष्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. काण्व्य+अण्=काण्वः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इञश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे य इञ् विहितस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षाः "the pupils of Dâkshi"; प्लाक्षाः, माहकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गमिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्व्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्व्यचः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु(अण्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकात्प्राच्यभरतगोत्रादिञन्तादण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic afffix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sûtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sûtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाराः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दाक्षाः from दाक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be काशिकी or काशिका?

Ans. The word काशि of sûtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prâchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñâpaka or inference, that whereever Prâchya is used in these sûtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See. II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vriddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sûtra. This is a general rule. The Vṛiddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we

have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वात्सीयः, शालीयः, मालीयः ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in तीर and रूप्य (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क (110). Thus.

इह—इहत्य; but आरात्—आरातीयः करवतीर—कारवतीरम्; but वायसतीर—वायसतीरीयः चाणाररूप्य—चाणाररूप्यम्; but माणिरूप्य—माणिरूप्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर—शैवपुरम्; but वाडवकर्ष—वाडवकर्षीयः, निलीनक—नैलीनकः ; but औलूक—औलूकीयः ॥

भवतष्ठक्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवतः, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vṛiddha word because it belongs to tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74). This rule debars छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत्+ठक्=भावत्कः; भवत्+छस्=भवदीयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vṛiddha, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing शतृ to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-ठञ्-ञिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यष्ठञ् ञिठ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आपदादिपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes ठञ् and ञिठ्, the ठ् is replaced by इक, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by ठञ् will take ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take टाप् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, बैदिका or बैदिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sûtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thas दैवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vâhîka village, it is not a Vṛiddha word. The secondary derivative then will be दैवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the Mâhâbhâshya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vriddha, and it gives example of दैवदत्तीयाः or दैवदत्ताः ॥ So then दैवदत्तः is a Vriddha word and will take these affixes.

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahâbhâshya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix ठञ् and ञिठ् ॥

Vârt :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तत् ; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °का, तात्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काशि, 2 चेदि (वैदी) 3 सांयाति*, 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुलाद, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुशमन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गोधाशन) 13 भारङ्गी*, 14 अरिंदम, 15 अरित्र*, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशग्राम (दासग्राम) 18 शौवावतान (सौधावतान) 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन*, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र*, 26 सोममित्र*, 27 छागमित्र*, 28 सधमित्र*, 29 आपदादिपूर्वपदात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 मौरिकि, 32 मौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, (ठञ् ञिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ् ञिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of Vâhîka.

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sûtra. This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्थविकी or मान्थविका ॥

विभाषोशीनरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उशीनरेषु (ठञ्-ञिठौ) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उशीनरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा ठञ् ञिठौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come optionally in the remaining senses, after Vriddha words denoting Vâhîka villages situated in Usînara.

Thus आह्वजालिकी, °लिका and °लीया; so also सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका and सौदर्शनीया ॥

ओर्देशे ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठञ् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ्, comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sûtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षुकः, शाबरजम्बुकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a country'? Observe पाटवाः 'the pupils of पटु' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sutras, the anuvṛitti of ठञ् and ञिठ् both were current; hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sûtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of ठञ् from the last sûtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of ञिठ् ॥

वृद्धात्प्राचाम् ॥ १२० पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-प्राचाम्-(ठञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्प्राग्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

120. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vriddha word endding in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sûtra also, the present sûtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have माल्लवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् ॥ १२१ ॥ पादानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

121. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vriddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vriddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus पारेधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांकाश्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्ताद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद वृद्धाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

122. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV, 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलुवहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sûtra also, but as that sûtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sûtra is general in its scope.

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

123. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ Thus पाटलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दकः, माकन्दी—माकन्दकः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दात्तामित्रीयः formed by छ. The त् in ईत् in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतदवध्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्-अवध्योः च-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाज्जनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

124. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आभिसारकः and आदर्शकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औपुष्टकः and श्यामायनकः from औपुष्ट and श्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV. 2. 137 to words like त्रिगर्त which is an arid desert: as त्रैगर्तकः ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विषयात्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् वृद्धाच्च जनपदात् तदवधिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

125. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vṛiddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गकाः, वाङ्गकाः and कालिङ्गकाः ॥ Similarly अजमीढाः and अजक्रन्दाः are non-Vṛiddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them आजमीढकः and आजक्रन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vṛiddha जनपद word by the last sûtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus दार्वकः and आम्बकाः from दार्वाः and

आम्बाः ॥ So also to Vriddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom: कालंजराः—कालंजरकः, वैकुलिशाः—वैकुलिशकः ॥

The word विषय is used in the sûtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्यः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वार्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sûtra to indicate that Vriddha-words which would have taken वुञ् by the last sûtra are not debarred by this sûtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय ; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyâya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धात् वुञ् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये दधिदानं; इह तु बहुवचनविषयेविशेषेऽवृद्धाद् वुञ्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये तक्रदानं, ततश्च बहुवचनादपि वृद्धाद् वुञ्प्राप्ते आरभ्यमाणोऽवृद्धाद् वुञ् वृद्धाद् वुञो-बाधकः स्यादित्यपि शब्देन समुच्चीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगर्तोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-अग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त्त-उत्तरपदात्-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्याद् वृद्धादवृद्धाच्च वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

126. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vriddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As दारुकच्छकः, पैप्पलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्नकः, वैभुजाग्नकः ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाकगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sûtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

127. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhûma &c, denoting country.

This debars अण् &c. धौमकः, खाण्डकः &c. The word पाथेय occurs in the list. It would have taken वुञ् by IV. 2. 121 as it has थ as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by 124 *ante*; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं=वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyâs". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रकौ मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 षडण्ड (खडण्ड and खण्ड) 3 शशादन, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाद) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अट्टस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्र स्थली, 12 दाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सात्रासाह, 17 शष्प, 18 (शिष्य) 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध; मित्र, वल) 19 भक्षाली*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 22 द्व्याहाव, 23 त्र्याहाव, 24 संस्फीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ज्य, 27 गर्त (वर्चगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयात तीर्थ) 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 दक्षिणापथ, 46 साकेत. 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(वुञ्)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पक्ष्मालिधूसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौराहि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेद लिखितं चित्रं मनोनेत्रविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेणं ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix वुञ् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागराः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brâhmaṇas".

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यशब्दाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्य हस्तिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix ण. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vârt:—It should be stated rather that the affix वुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अध्यायः, न्यायः विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

Vârt :—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as आरण्याः or आरण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As आरण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(वुञ्)
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

130. The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवः, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरः ॥ These words denote जनपद or inhabited countries, and therefore by sûtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix वुञ्. The present sûtra makes the application of वुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix वुञ् by virtue of sûtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवकमस्य हसितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars वुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मैद्रकः 'born in Madra', वैजिकः ॥

कोपधादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधात्-अण् ।
वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात् प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultinate.

This debars वुञ् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus आर्षिकः "born in ऋषिकाः" So also माहिषिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, and would have otherwise taken ठञ् by IV. 2. 119. Thus ऐक्ष्वाकः "born in इक्ष्वाकु" ॥ The word देशे is understood in this sûtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।
वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्योऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places.

The word देशे is understood here. This debars वुञ् &c. Thus काच्छः, सैन्धवः, वार्णवः &c. The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sûtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken अण् by the last sûtra also, because it has क as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्णु, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलूतर (कुलून)16रङ्कु॥

मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्थयोः वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix वुञ् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meanining is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars अण्॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch'. काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. काच्छिका चूडा॥ Similarly सैन्धवको मनुष्यः, सैन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम, सैन्धविका चूडा॥

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'. सैन्धवो वार्णवः॥

अपदातौ साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातौ-साल्वात्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदाताविव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्थे साल्वशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix वुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sûtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sûtra makes a restriction. Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं &c. But साल्वः पदातिः व्रजाति 'the Sâlva foot soldier goes.'

गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(वुञ्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वां च जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

136. The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण of IV. 2. 133. Thus साल्वको गौः "the cows born in Salva". साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Sâlva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

गर्त्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्त्तोत्तरपदाद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word देशे is to be read into the sûtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes ञ्य् and ञिठ् of sûtra 117 *ante*. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, शृगालगर्तीयम्, श्वाविद्गर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sûtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V, 3, 68) and not a pada.

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः , belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c. In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यमं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sûtra IV. 3 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रय औदीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कुक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छण् comes after the words वेणु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus वैणकीयम्, वैत्रकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम् माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 गर्त, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सम, 4 विषम, 5 मध्य मध्यमं चाण् चरणे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधम शाख 13 उत्तमशाख, 14 एकशाख, 15 समानशाख, 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश, 20 इष्वग्र, 21 इष्वनीक (इष्वनी) 22 अवस्यन्दन (अवस्यन्दी and अवस्कन्द) 23 कामप्रस्थ, 24 खाडायन (शाडिकाडायनि; खाडायनि and खाण्डायनी) 25 काठेरणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि) 26 लावेरणि*, 27 सौमित्रि*, 28 शैशिरि, 29 आसुत्*, 30 दैवशर्मि (देवशर्मन्) 31 औति, 32 आहिंसि, 33 आमित्रि, 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि (वैदजि), 36 आध्यश्वि, 37 आनृशंसि, 38 शौङ्गि, 39 आग्निशर्मि, (अग्निशर्मन्) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षैमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्), 44 आश्वत्थि, 45 औद्गाहमानि*, 46 ऐक, 47 बिन्दवि*, 48 दन्ताग्र*, 49 हंस*, 50 तन्त्वग्र*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोर्लोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय), 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेण्वादिभ्यश्छण्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sûtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपल्वलीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारश्चान्तादेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sûtra only teaches substitution: for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sûtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-खोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धाद्देशवाचिनो ऽक इक इत्येवमन्तात् खकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्छ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate,

The word देशे must be read into the sûtra. This debars the अण् of Sûtra 132 *ante*: as well as the affixes ordained by Sûtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—आरीहणकीयम्, द्रौघणकीयम् ॥ इक—आश्वपथिकीयम्, शाल्मलिकीयम् ॥ खोप धात्:—कौटिशिखीयम्, आयोमुखीयम् ॥

Vârt:---The words सौसुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in उक ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम्, मौसुकीयम्, ऐन्द्रवेणुकीयम् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद्-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थाद्युत्तरपदाद्देशवाचिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as ठञ् and ञिठ् of 117 *ante* Thus दाक्षिकन्थीयम्, माहिकिकन्थीयम्, दाक्षिपलदीयम्, माहिकिपलदीयम्, दाक्षिनगरीयं, माहिकिनगरीयम्, दाक्षिग्रामीयम्, माहिकिग्रामीयम्, दाक्षिह्रदीयम्, माहिकिह्रदीयम् ॥

पर्वताच्च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word **पर्वत** in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुरुषः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा ऽमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाऽमनुष्ये वाच्ये ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word **पर्वत** when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयमुदकम् or पार्वतमुदकम् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजदेशवाचिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after **कृकण** and **पर्ण** when denoting the country of Bharadvâja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c.

ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-खञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः चकाराच्छश्च ॥

1. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण्, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛiddha, as they belong to Tyadâdi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sûtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्+अण्=युष्माक+अण् (IV. 3. 2)=यौष्माकः युष्मद्+छ=युष्मद्+ईय=युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्+खञ्=युष्माक+ईन (IV.3. 2.)=यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII.4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीय; and आस्माकीनः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आस्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति साक्षाद्विहितः खञ् निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टश्छः । तस्मिन्खञि अणि च युष्मदस्मदोर्यथासंख्यं युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sûtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sûtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) तस्मिन् खञि युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (२) ततोऽणि च ॥ i. e. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sûtra, e. g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीनः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

तवकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो यथासंख्यं तस्मिन्खञि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will त्वदीयः, मदीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

अर्धाद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्ध्यम् 'belonging to half.'

Vârt:—When it has a prior term the affix ठञ् is used. As बालेयार्द्धिकम्, (बल्यर्थवस्तु = बालेयं) ॥ गौतमार्द्धिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाचार्धाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्ध्यम्, अवरार्द्ध्यम्, अधमार्द्ध्यम्, उत्तमार्द्ध्यम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sûtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धात् being supplied from the last sûtra, the whole sûtra

would have been परावराधमोत्तमेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c."

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always ठञ् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sûtra, prevents the application of the affix ठञ् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vârtika सपूर्वपदाद् ठञ् given under the last sûtra, the word अर्ध preceded by any word would have taken ठञ्, hence the necessity of this sûtra ordainig यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपदाट्ठञ्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पदात्-ठञ्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच शैषिकः ॥

6. And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्ध्यम्, पौर्वार्धिकम्, दाक्षिणार्ध्यम् or दाक्षिणार्द्धिकम् ॥

The word पद is used in the sûtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sûtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वाद् ठञ्च, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes ठञ् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and दिगर्ध जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अञ्-ठञौ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धान्तादञ् ठञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः शैषिकौ यतापवादौ ॥

7. The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sûtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खल्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः or पौर्वार्धिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दाक्षिणार्धाः or दाक्षिणार्धिकाः ॥ The word पौर्वार्द्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitârtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यशब्दान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदेचेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अवोधसोर्लोपश्च ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ As मध्यमः "middlemost".

Vârt:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिमः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vârt:—So also after the words अवस् and अधस्, the final स् being elided. As अवमम्, अधमम् ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यशब्दात्सांप्रतिके जातादौ प्रत्ययार्थे ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity,propriety,right, fit'. As नातिदीर्घं नाति ह्रस्वं मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्यो वैयाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम्-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken अण्; and by sûtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken वुञ् also. The present sûtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वैपकम् or द्वैपम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayîbhâva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालाट्ठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars अण् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vriddha words is prohibited by this sûtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' आर्द्धमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कादम्बपुष्पिकं, व्रैहिपलालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sûtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

श्राद्धे शरदः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्राद्धे-शरदः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति श्राद्धे ऽभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing श्राद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word श्राद्धं means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावान् पुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं श्राद्धं 'the autumnal Śrâddha'. When not meaning 'Śrâddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाप्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśâ', and 'pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sûtra IV. 3. 11 *ante*, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुट् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुट्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुडागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुट् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix त्यप् by sûtra IV. 2. 105. This sûtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes ṭyu and ṭyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्+तुट्+ठञ्=शौवस्+त्+इक (VII. 3. 3)= शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्त्यः and श्वस्तनः ॥

संधिवेलाद्यृतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sûtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vriddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) ग्रैष्मम, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as सांवत्सरं फलं or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 त्रयोदशी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चदशी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix **एण्य** comes in the remaining senses after the word **प्रावृष्** ॥

This debars the अण् of the last sûtra, though 'prâvrish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्ठक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाट्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix **ठक्** comes in the remaining senses after the word **वर्षा** ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The ठक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दसि ठञ् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दाच् छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshâ' takes the affix **ठञ्** in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वार्षिकावृतू ॥ The word ऋतु here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दाच् छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वासन्तिकावृतू ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहश्च सहस्यश्च हैमन्तिकावृतू ॥ The making of two separate Sûtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन चास्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हैमनम् वासः 'wintery residence.' हैमनमुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sûtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sûtra IV. 3. 16 as हैमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त there. Thus there are three forms हैमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हैमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हैमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ तुट् च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-ट्यु-ट्युलौ-तुट्-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौस्तस्तयोस्तुट्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरुत्परारिभ्यस्त्नो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रगस्य छन्दसि गलोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अग्रपश्चाड्डिमच् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुट् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं+ट्यु = सायं+तुट्+ट्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn".

The word सायं is a word ending in म् and is an Indeclinable. These

affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that सायं ॥ The present सायं is derived from the root सो by adding the affix घञ् ॥ It always ends in म् when these affixes are added, The word चिरं always ends in म् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are दोषातनम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'.

Vârt :—The affix त्न comes after the words चिर, परुत् and परारि ॥ As चिरत्नम्, परुत्नम्, and परारित्नम् ॥

Vârt :—The ग of प्रग in elided in the Chhandas before this affix त्न. as, प्रत्नम् ॥

Vârt :—The affix डिमच् comes after अग्र, आदि and पश्चात्; as, अग्रिमम्, आदिमम् and पश्चिमम् ॥

Vârt :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमम् ॥

The defference between tyu and tyul is in accent, Thus सायन्तॅन and सायॅन्तन, चिरन्तॅन and चिरॅन्तन, प्राह्णेतॅन and प्राह्णॅतन, प्रगेतॅन, प्रगॅतन, दिवातॅन and दिवॅातन, दोषातॅन and दोषॅातन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्णाभ्याम्-(टुच-टुचलौ-तुट्-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा टुघटुघलौ प्रत्ययौ भवत, स्तुट् च तयोरागमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुट् ॥

In the alternative ठञ् of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेतॅनम्, अपराह्णेतॅनम् with tyu, or पौर्वाह्णिकम् आपराह्णिकम् with thañ. With tyul. we have पूर्वाह्णेतॅनं and अपराह्णेतॅनं ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णतॅनं or पूर्वाह्णॅतनः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणादयो घादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतास्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. घ &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sûtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus स्रुघ्नेजातः = स्रुघ्न + अण् = स्रौघ्नः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapâna',

राष्ट्रियः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपारीणः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), ग्राम्यः (IV. 2. 94), ग्रामीणः (IV. 2. 94), कात्रेयकः (IV. 2. 95) औम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्ठप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृट्शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृट् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars एण्य of sûtra IV. 3. 17. The प् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषिकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो वुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदः-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix वुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका दर्भाः 'the grass called Śâradaka'. शारदका मुद्गाः 'the pulse called Sâradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारदं सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sûtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्करादु वुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्करात्-वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

28. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठञ् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दाद्वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix वुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way,'

This debars the अण् ॥

अमावास्याया वा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-वा-(वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दाद्वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix **वुन्** comes optionally after the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्यकः or आमावास्यः ॥ This affix वुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or आमावस्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्याशब्दादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. And the affix **अ** also is added to the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the वुन् and अण् already given. Thus अमावास्यः, अमावास्यकः, आमावास्यः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and आमावस्यः ॥

सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुशब्दादपकरशब्दाच्च कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix **कन्** in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and वुञ् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule. This sûtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्ध्वपकरशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र जात इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

33. And the affixes **अण्** and **अञ्** come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रविष्ठा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अषाढा-बहुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रविष्ठादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्थे लुग् भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्रारेवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ फल्गुन्यषाढाभ्यां टानौ वक्तव्यौ ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रविष्ठाषाढाभ्यां छणपि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words '*s*ravish*t*hâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâ*d*hâ', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus श्रविष्ठासु जातः = श्रविष्ठः 'produced under Śravishṭhâ'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखः, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vârt:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vârt:—The affixes ट and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी and अषाढा in forming the Feminine derivatives. As फल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vârt:—The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishṭhâ' and 'ashâḍhâ' As श्राविष्ठीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशब्दात्खरशालशब्दाज्जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजित्-अश्वयुक्-शतभिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsa*s*âla', 'abhijit', 'a*s*vayuk', and '*s*atabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतभिक् or शातभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sûtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्थे प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रौहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कृतादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus स्रौघ्नः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus स्रौघ्नः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = स्रुघ्ने प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sûtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sûtra तत्रभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्ठक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवेः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजान्वादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajânu,' 'upakarna,' and upanîvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix ङी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sûtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sûtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. अवक्लृप्तिः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus स्रुघ्ने संभवति = स्रौघ्नः 'what is suited to the country of Srughna.' So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाड्ढञ् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix ढञ् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however रूढि and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sûtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sûtra एण्या-ढञ् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमानेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हैमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हैमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिरमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', ग्रैष्म्यः पाटलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालयः "the grains that ripen in autumn'. ग्रैष्मा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sûtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c.

उप्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिति च । सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुप्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हैमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' ग्रैष्मा व्रीहयः ॥

The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sûtra.

आश्वयुज्या वुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीशब्दाद् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उप्तेर्थे ॥

45. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुप्ताः = आश्वयुजका माषाः 'the pulse sown in Âśvayujî.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Aśvini. Âśvayuj and Aśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-वसन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्-(वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मवसन्तशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उप्तेर्थे ॥ ऋत्वणोपवादः ॥

46. The affix वुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grîshma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus ग्रैष्मम् or ग्रैष्मकम् सस्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद्देयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणं चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month'. आर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, बुसात्,वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यवबुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley-chaff? Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृणं=कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवबुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमशब्दाभ्यां वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grîshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं=ग्रैष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुन् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न दत्तम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ठञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सराग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् वुञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरात्फलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ठञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrâhâyaṇî' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं=सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sûtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाचिनः सप्तमीसमर्थात्प्रातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः=नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्रादोषः or प्रादोषिकः (IV. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'

Why do we say मृग: 'a beast'? Observe निशायां व्याहरति उलूकः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sûtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं सोढञ्चेत्तद्भवति ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that: सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमध्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य=नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्रादोषिकः or प्रादोषः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sûtra तत्र जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, स्रुघ्ने भवः=स्रौघ्नः "who stays in Srughna". माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तत्र in the sûtra though its annuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sûtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिश् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उदकात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुख्यं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघन्यन् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उदक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उदक्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदकी मत्स्यः ॥

1 दिश्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाय्य (धाय्या) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 यूथ, 22 उदकात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेश (विश) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवंश. ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भवं = दन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कण्ठ्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्ढञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अस्ति-अहेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

56. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'driti'. 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दार्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराड्ढञ्च, तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'grîvâ' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = ग्रैवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sûtra.

गम्भीराञ्ञ्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्- ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीरशब्दाद् ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्देवपञ्चजनेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चतुर्मासाद् यज्ञे ञ्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवं = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'.

Vârt:—So also after बहिः, देव and पंचजन. As बाह्यम्, दैव्यम् and पांचजन्यम् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vârtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vârtika of the same.

Vârt:—The affix ñya comes after chaturmása in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च (ञ्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

59. After an Avyayîbhâva Compound, the affix ञ्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण ॥ The affix ञ्य however, does not come after every Avyayîbhâva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapâtha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = पारिमुख्यम्, So also पारिहनव्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु, 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पर्युल, 5 औपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयुप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्- ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःशब्दो विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समानशब्दाट्ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तदादेश्च ॥

वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥ वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदमाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वदेहाच्च ॥ वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥

वा० ॥ मुखपार्श्वशब्दाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीयः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥ वा० ॥ मध्यशब्दादीयः ॥

वा० ॥ मण्मीयौ च प्रत्ययौ वक्तव्यौ ॥ वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनण् चास्मात् ॥

वा० ॥ स्थाम्नो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ अजिनान्ताच्च ॥

Kârikâ

समानस्य तदादेश्च अध्यात्मादिषु चेष्यते ।
ऊर्ध्वदमाच्च देहाच्च लोकोत्तरपदस्य च ॥
मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुग्जनस्य परस्य च ॥
ईयः कार्योऽथ मध्यस्य मण्मीयौ प्रत्ययौ तथा ॥
मध्यो मध्यं दिनण् चास्मात्स्थाम्नो लुगजिनात्तथा ॥

60. After an Avyayîbhâva compound, having the word अन्तर् as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेश्मिकम्, आन्तर्गेहिकम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानग्रामिकम्, सामानदेशिकं.

Vârt:—So also after the words अध्यात्म, &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Ákṛitigaṇa.

Vârt:—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्दम: as, और्ध्वन्दमिकः ॥ The word 'ûrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

Vârt:—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

Vârt:—The words मुख and पार्श्व ending in तस्, take the affix ईय; as, मुखतीयम्, पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vârt:—Tne affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मध्यीयः ॥

Vârt:—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

Vârt:—So also the affix दिनण् (दिनञ् in Padamanjari) comes after मध्य, whereby it be comes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यन्दिन उपगायति ॥

Vârt:—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्थाम, as, अश्वत्थामा ॥

Vârt:—So also there is elision after the words ending in अजिन, as वृकाजिनः, सिंहाजिनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दान्तादव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. After the word 'grâma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhâva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पारिग्रामिकः, आनुग्रामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुलेः- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलशब्दादङ्गुलिशब्दाच्चछः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. After the words 'jihvâmûla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अंगुलीयम् ॥

वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च (छ)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गशब्दान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच् छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये अणोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अण् ॥ As कवर्गीयम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-खौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । शब्दावन्यस्मिन्प्रत्ययार्थे वर्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादन्यतरस्यां यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्ग्यः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीणः, (by ख), and वासुदेववर्गीयः (by छ) ॥ युधिष्ठिरवर्ग्यः °वर्गीणः or °वर्गीयः ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i. e. छ; as कवर्गीय वर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament,? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यम् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानइति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्याने ऽभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तत्रभव, the latter being read into the sûtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङः 'Tainga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कार्तः 'Kârta--a Commentary on krit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवं &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pâṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pâṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशला is a modal giving a description of Pâṭaliputra. This will not be called Pâṭaliputram.

The anuvṛitti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneosly in all the subsequent apavâda sûtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛitti of भव into this sûtra also.

बह्वचोन्तोदात्ताट्ठञ् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वचः-अन्तोदात्तात् ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकादन्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udâtta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus षात्वणात्विकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नातानतिकम् 'a commentary on (अनत) udâtta and anudâtta (नत)' ॥ The radicals षत्वणत्व and नतानत are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बह्वचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम्, तैङम् &c. A word of two syllables will take ठक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe सांहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajna.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निष्टोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Aginshṭoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयाज्ञिकः, नावयाज्ञिकः ॥

This sûtra refers to words which are not antodâtta. The words 'vâja-peya' and 'râjasûya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाञ्चौदनिकः, दाशौदनिकः ॥

The sûtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषेः, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिशब्दाः प्रवरनामधेयानि तेभ्य ऋषिशब्देभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a *R*ishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commantary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyâya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sûtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Ṛishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vâsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वैश्वामित्रकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvâmitra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् ष्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशशब्दात्पुरोडाशशब्दाच्च भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix ष्ठन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauro*d*â*s*a' and 'puro*d*a*s*a'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍâśa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍâsa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍâśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍâśa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः शब्दाद्भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्यदणौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars ठक् of the following sûtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

द्व्यजृद्ब्राह्मणर्क्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताट् ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्-ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरश्चरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brah*m*a*n*a', '*r*ik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'n*a*ma', '*a*khy*a*ta' and 'n*a*m*a*khy*a*ta', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and ठञ् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic :—ऐष्टिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in ऋ :—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्चिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरश्चरणिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणृगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-ऋगयनादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words '*r*igayana' &c.

This debars ठञ्, ठक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पादव्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sûtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavâda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविचिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकारण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी 25 व्याय. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus स्रुघ्नादागतः = स्रौघ्नः 'what has come from Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ।

ठगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वामिग्राह्यो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sûtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल. 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण. ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

77. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादागतम्=औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' शैष्यकम्, आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

ऋतष्ठञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिभ्यष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

78. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम्=हौतृकम 'derived from Hotṛi.' पैतृकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वासृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ॠ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराट्ठञ्च तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्कवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्कवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादङ्कवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sûtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुञ् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is refered to in this sûtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्कः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम् (formed by वुञ् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly बैदः, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अण् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gârgyas, the Dâkshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः,अन्यतरस्याम्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समादागतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men

also दैवदत्तरूप्यम् or दैवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तरूप्यम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sûtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23: and according to the jñâpaka in the present sûtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयट् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयट्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'maya*t*' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, यज्ञदत्तमयम् ॥

The ट् of मयट् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondencc (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमयटौ ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is undersood in the sûtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हैमवती "The Haimavatî", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dâradî" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराञ्ञ्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूरशब्दाञ् ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika वालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।
न वै तत्रेति चेद्ब्रूयाज्जित्वरीवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix य comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्यः 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vîdûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarî.

तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थाश्चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus स्रुघ्नंगच्छति = स्रौघ्नः "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also माथुरः ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say पथिदूतयोः "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe स्रुघ्नं गच्छति सार्थः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus स्रौघ्नः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also माथुरम्, राष्ट्रियम् ॥

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं, for by using अभिनिष्क्रामति, you make the word द्वारं as if it was a being endowed with sense.

Ans. This objection may be answerd by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (करण) to the action of अभिनिष्क्रमण; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as साध्वसिश्छिनत्ति 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe स्रुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुषः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्स भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुबाख्यायिकार्थस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus सुभद्रामधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थः = सौभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadrâ.' So also गौरिमित्रः, यायातः, किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say ग्रन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, सुभद्रामधिकृत्यकृतः प्रासादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadrâ'; where there is no affix.

Vârt:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽख्यायिका = वासवदत्ता "Vâsavadattâ, a story relating to Vâsavadattâ." सुमनोत्तरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैमरथी ॥

शिशुक्रन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-क्रन्द-यमसभ-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुक्रन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वन्द्वे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word तद् (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sûtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुक्रन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अग्निकाश्यपीयः, श्येनकपोतीयः, शब्दार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपदीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are âkritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनयिम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As दैवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' राक्षोसुरम् गौणमुख्यम् ॥

The words शिशुक्रन्द and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sûtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थं निवासश्चेत्स भवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

स्रुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य=स्रौघ्नः 'a present dweller of Srughna', माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत्स भवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus स्रौघ्नः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वतइति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sûtra. Thus हृद्गोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां=हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛidgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्त्तीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः? Observe आर्क्षोदा ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शण्डिकादिभ्यः, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सोस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोरपवादः ॥

92. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शाण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट, (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ऽणञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अण्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते । सिन्ध्वादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः सोस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

93. The affixes अण and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सैन्धवः, वार्णवः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchhâdi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sûtra IV. 2. 133. The present sûtra prevents the affixing of वुञ् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sûtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिलः, वात्सोद्धरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्णु, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 दरद् (दरद), 11 गन्दिका (गब्दिका), 12 कुलून, 13 दिरसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वत्सोद्धरण, 3 कैर्मेदुर (कौमेदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शलातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सोस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शलातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वार्मतेयः and कौचवार्यः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थश्चानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्भवति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sûtra means 'serving','worshipping' or 'loving'. Thus स्रुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य=स्रौघ्नः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also माथुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word सः and अस्य should be read into the sûtra.

अचित्तादेशकालाट्ठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालव्यतिरिक्तादचित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाट्ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति सोस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये; अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अण्; and छ also. Thus अपूपाभक्तिरस्य=आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाष्कुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe दैवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe स्रौघ्नः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe ग्रैष्मः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजाट्ठञ् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सोस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word **महाराज ॥**

This debars अण् ॥ As माहाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahârâja'. The difference between this ठञ् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छाणोरपवादः ॥

98. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vâsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken वुञ् by the next sûtra, and there is no difference here between वुन् and वुञ्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sûtra?

A. The word वासुदेव here is the name of God (in which all dwell वसति अस्मिन्) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sûtra indicates (jñâpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

99 The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अण् and छ. Thus: ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukâyani.' So also औपगवकः, कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas :——नाकुलकः, साहदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥

The word आख्या in the sûtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥

The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदिनाम्, जनपदवत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपदवत्सर्वं भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sûtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Khsatriyâ-Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by वुञ् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Angâs' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सौह्मकः पौन्ड्रकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गकः formed by the same affix वुञ्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Angâs'. So वाङ्गकः, सौह्मकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes'; (janapadinâm). Observe, पंचाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पांचालाः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sûtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatrya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. माद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, माद्रौ pl. मद्राः The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrâs' as well as 'the country called Madrâs'. Thus मद्रा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus माद्रो भक्तिरस्य माद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly वार्ज्य (from वृजि IV. 1. 171), as, वार्ज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य वार्ज्यौ वा भक्तिरस्य = वृजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीयः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sûtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrâja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrâja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As वाङ्गः or वाङ्गौ भक्तिरस्य वाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्प्रोक्तमित्यस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकर्षेणोक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं

has been already taught in the sûtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्येन कृता माथुरेण प्रोक्ता = माथुरी वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Paṇini' आपिशलम्, काशकृत्स्नम् ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृतं) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्तं) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sûtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sûtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kaṭha, Kalâpa &c. For example सुशर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुशर्मणा प्रोक्तं काठकं = सौशर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it sbould be taught for the Chhandas : that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काठकम्, कालापकम् and मौदकम् ॥ This sûtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another : as माथुरी वृत्तिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उखात्-छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यश्छण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेश्छन्दोधिकारविहितानां च तद्विषयतेष्यते ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khan*d*ika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तवीयाः, खाण्डिकीयाः, औखीयाः ॥

According to Kâśikâ this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sûtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्, ऋषिभ्याम्,णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छस्यापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâsyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sûtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं=काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâsyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa: not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अन्तिवासिभ्यः,च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिनां च ये वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

Kârika हरिद्रुरेषां प्रथमस्ततश्छगलितुम्बुरू ।
उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥
आलम्बिश्चरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावुभौ ।
ऋचाभारुणिताण्ड्याश्च मध्यमीयास्त्रयो ऽपरे ॥
श्यामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî, and 'Vaisampâyana,' the affiix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpâ: as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरुः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampâyaṇa: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, ऋचाभ, आरुणि; ताण्ड्य, श्यामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरविणः, औलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ आलम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, आरुणिनः, आर्च्चाभिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, श्यामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalâpî being a pupil of Vaisampâyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampâyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalâpî.' But that is not so, the word Kalâpî being separately mentioned in the sûtra. So

also Kaṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampâyaṇa, and Khâḍâyana is a pupil of Kaṭha and had the sûtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडायन also. But that is not the case, Khâḍâyana being mentioned in Śaunakâdi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयासमर्थात्प्रोक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brâhmana or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sûtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages.' equivalent to पुरातण. Of Brâhmaṇa literature,the examples are,शाट्यायनिनः, ऐतरायणः ॥ Kalpa work: as पैङ्गीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्मरथः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sûtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये । छाणोरपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Saunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तामधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव, 4 शापेय (सांपेय), 5 शाष्पेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार, 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय) 14 तल*, 15 दण्ड*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्द, 20 देवदत्तशठ, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकाल्लुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकशब्दाभ्यां परस्य प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति । कठशब्दाद्वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्य इति णिनेश्चरकशब्दादण्णः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Ka*th*a and Charaka.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word: and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठाः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kaṭha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sûtra. Observe काठाः चारकाः श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनो ऽण् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि शब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासित्वाण्णिनेरपवादः वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुथुमितैतलिजाजलिजाङ्गलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसद्मसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalapî'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sûtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sûtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vârtika.

Vâârt:—The टि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows :—सब्रह्मचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुथुमिन्, तैतिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसद्मन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus ईन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो ढिनुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-ढिनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिन्शब्दाद् ढिनुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासित्वाण्णिनेरपवादः ॥

109. The affix ढिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छागलेयिनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagalî'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नट-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न ढिनुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâśarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Naṭa-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not ढिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and नटः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words, of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नटाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sûtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कृशाश्वात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वशब्दाभ्यामिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Naṭa-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kṛiśâśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin'. कृशाश्विनो नटाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa Sûtra of Kṛiśâśvin.' Otherwise कार्मन्दकम् and काशाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थादेकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक means तुल्य दिक i. e. a common direction. Thus सुदाम्ना एकदिक = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हैमवती, त्रैककुदी, पैलुमूली ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस्

which regulated all the preceding ten sûtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sûtras does not apply here.

तसिश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण घादिषु अणादिषु च प्राप्तेष्वयमपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् &c घ &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवत्तः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलतः, सुदामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्तसिश्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग्=उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sûtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थादुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pâṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिशलम् दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pâṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (यत्नोपायानां गौरवं लाघवं चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskaraṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्कृतं ग्रन्थश्चेत्स भवति॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हैकुपादो ग्रन्थः, भैकुराटो ग्रन्थः, जालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृत: and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञाज्ञायते ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारघम्, पौत्तिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरघा and पुत्तिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अण् = माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvritti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चैतत्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वारुडकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र (सिरिन्ध्र), 8 सैरिन्ध्र (सेन्द्रिय), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् (पर्षद्), 11 वधू, 12 मधु*, 13 रुरु, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव. ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-वटर-पादपात्,अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवादः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vaṭara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादिदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्याणादयः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः । घादयश्च प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेस्तुरणिट् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधामाधाने षेण्यण् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes घ &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोरिदम्=औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवम्, राष्ट्रियम्, अवारपारीणं ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vârt:—The verb वह takes तृ (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इट् As, संवोढुः स्वं=सांवहित्रम् ॥

Vârt:—The affix रञ् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ As आग्नीध्रम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to द (VIII. 2. 39).

Vârt:—The affix 'shenyan' comes after समिधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधाविति तदन्तविधिरुपसंख्यायते ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येदं=रथ्यम 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vârtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्रथशब्दादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्दभ रथं ॥

The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix ष्ट्रन् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषद्:, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added.

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गार्दभम् ॥ So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीरशब्दाभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यस्मिन्विषयेऽणोपवादः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra.'

Thus हलस्येदम् = हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्वुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-वुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसंज्ञकाद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणयोः । अणोपवादः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाभ्रव्यशालङ्कायनिका, काकोलूकिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अत्रिभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-वुञ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणवाचिभ्य प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः॥

126. The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debas अण् as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—ग्लौचुकायनकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarly means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (âmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kaṭhas'. So also कालापकम्, मौदकम्, पैप्पलादकम् ॥

संघाङ्कलक्षणेष्वञ्यञिञामण् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्क-लक्षणेषु-अञ्-यञ्-इञां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वञन्ताद् यञन्ताद् इञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येद मित्येतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य वुञो ऽपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घोषग्रहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्क should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्क is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्क though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sûtra debars वुञ् of the last aphorism.

Vârt :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अञन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—बैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यञन्तात् (IV. 1 105)—गार्ग्य + अण् = गार्गः (VI. 4. 148, 151) "a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gârgyâs? इञन्तात् (IV. 1. 95),—दाक्षि + अण् = दाक्षः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dâkshis'.

The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vriddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ्, यञ् or इञ् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vriddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), Thus बैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, बैदी विद्याऽस्य = बैदीविद्यः i. e. बिदानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलशब्दात्संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाणुप्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वुञो-पवादः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शाकलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलानाम् संघः = शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śâkala.'

छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्थिक-याज्ञिक-बह्वृच-नटात्, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादयो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः शब्देभ्योञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्ये-तस्मिन्विषये । वुञणोरपवादः ॥

129. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhândoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yâjnika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

The anuvritti of संघ &c ceases. The ञ्य debars अण् and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोः from sûtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also औक्थिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बाह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु वुञ् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'danda' and nothing intrnisic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kârikâ. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus दाक्षाः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dâkshi.' माहकाः ॥ So also गौकक्षाः दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

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131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवातिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिशीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षैमवृद्धि, 4 गौरग्रीवि (गौरग्रीव), 5 औदमेघि (औदमेयि), 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 बैजवापि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रवुञोपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sûtra is really a Vârtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, इकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन चेकलोपः, तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । चरणवुञोपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharva*n*ika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुञ् (IV. 3: 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम्=आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्माम्नाययोः is understood here. This sûtra is also a vârtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sûtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV. 2. 92 &c). such as घ, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been tanght here in this sûtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sûtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sûtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अञ् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udâtta on the first syllable, for an anudâttâdi will have अञ् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयट् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अश्मन् and भस्मन् formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by तिकन् (V. 4. 39) which are âdyudâtta owing to नित् accent. Thus अश्मनो विकारः = आश्मनः ॥ The टि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vârt) As आश्मः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्त्तिकः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्विकारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sûtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sûtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कापोतः (IV.3.154) ॥ So also मायूरः, तैत्तिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मौर्वम् 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्ष, as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kârîra tree".

In the subsequent sûtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमञ्मयटोरपवादः ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अञ् and मयट् ॥ Thus बैल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवेधुका: occurs in this list. It would have taken 'aṇ' by the next sûtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwâdi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयट् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी 11 पाटली; 12 कर्कन्धू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाच्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-च (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधात्प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति यथायोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः। अञोपवादः ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अञ्. Thus तर्कु तार्कवम्, तित्तिडीक, तैत्तिडीकं; माण्डूकम्, दार्दुरूकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phiṭ Su. II. 16).

त्रपुजतुनोः षुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रपु-जतुनोः-षुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रपुजतुशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे,तत्सन्नियोगेन तयोःषुगागमो भवति।ओरञोपवादः ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). As, त्रपुणो विकारः = त्रापुषम्; जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac.' In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरञ् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयो, रणोपवादः ॥

139. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus दैवदारवम्, भाद्रदारवम् ॥ The words देवदारु and भद्रदारु are âdy-udâtta owing to Phiṭ Su. II. 14 (पीतद्र्वर्थानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयो, रणोपवादः ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudâtta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus दाधित्थम्, कापित्थम्, माहित्थम् ॥ The word दधित्थम् is an upapada-samâsa of दधि + स्थ, the स being changed to त; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो वा ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खादिरम् or खादिरम्, यावासम् or यावासम् ॥

This sûtra is an example of prâpta and aprâpta vibhâshâ. The words पलाश, खदिर, शिंशपा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prâpta-vibhâshâ. In the case of others it is aprâpta- vibhâshâ.

1 पलाश, 2 खदिर, 3 शिंशपा, 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर, 7 शिरीष, 8 यवास, 9 विकङ्कत.

शम्याष्ट्लञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-ट्लञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशब्दाद् ट्लञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अञोपवादः ॥

142. The affix ट्लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म, शामीली स्रुक् (IV. 1. 60).

मयड्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयट्-वा-एतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभक्ष्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिमात्राद्वा मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति भक्ष्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये यथायथं प्रत्ययेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

143. The affix मयट् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अश्ममयम् or आश्मनम् '(IV. 3. 134)' मूर्वामयं or मौर्वम् (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness बैल्वः खादिरो वा यूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe मौद्गः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sûtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sûtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयट् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्चाभक्ष्याच्छादनयोर्विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयट् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after V*r*iddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आम्रमयम्, शालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words:— शरमयम्, दर्भमयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word नित्यः 'invariably' in the sûtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sûtra, the affix would be obligatory.? The affix मयट्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word नित्य in the sûtra. Thus, त्वङ् मयम्, स्रङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 दर्भ, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (वल्वज).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयट् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sûtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikâra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाच्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दान्नित्यं मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवादः ॥

146. The affix मयट् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैष्टी सुरा in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टशब्दात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे संज्ञायां विषये । मयटोपवादः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयट् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रीहिशब्दान्मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । बिल्वाद्यणोपवादः ॥

148. The affix मयट् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puro*d*âsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise व्रैहम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवशब्दाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयट् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन्. (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यचश्छन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः-छन्दसि (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकाच् छन्दसि विषये मयट् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयट् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयट् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3 143. Thus पर्णमयः, दर्भमयः, शरमयः in the following यस्य पर्णमयी जुहूर्भवति, दर्भमयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बर्हिर्भवति ॥

नोत्वद्वर्ध्रबिल्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्वत्-वर्ध्र-बिल्वात् (मयट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद्वर्ध्रबिल्वशब्दाभ्यां च मयट् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयट् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus मौञ्जं शिक्यम् from मुञ्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चरुम्, वार्ध्री बालप्रग्रथिता भवति; बैल्वो ब्रह्मवर्चसकामेन कार्यः ॥

The word उत्वत् means 'having उत् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूममयान्यन्नाणि ॥ The वत् in उत्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words *ending* in उ, but also to words *having* उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words *ending* in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वैणवी यष्टिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुञ्ज is âdy-udâtta by तृणधान्यानां (Phiṭ II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्मुत् is formed by the affix उत् plus the augment मुट् (ग्रमेरुतिः, मोमुट्च Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अञ् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गार्मुत ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तस्या एतं गार्मुतं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥ The word वर्ध्र is âdyudâtta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अण्, the feminine being formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योऽण् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tâla &c'.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिशम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिश, 4 इन्द्रादृश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्ग), 7 श्यामाक, 8 पीयूक्षा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडादीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sûtra, indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयट् &c. Thus हाटको निष्कः, हाटकं कार्षापणम्, जातरूपम्, तापनीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यष्टिरियं हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudâtta in the beginning. This sûtra applies to words other than those having anudâtta in the beginning.

Thus :—कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैत्तिरम्; राजतम्, सैसम्; लौहम्, &c. In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudâtta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयट् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उदुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 दारु, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 बिभीतक, 9 पीतदारु (कपीत, दारु), 10 तीव्रदारु, 11 त्रिकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार.

ञितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञितः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञित्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः प्रत्यवमर्शः । ञितोविकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरेव । मयटोपवादः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), टलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अञ् (IV. 3. 154) वुञ् (IV. 3. 157), ढञ् (IV. 3. 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus दैवदारवस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = दैवदारवम्; so also दाधित्थम्, पालाशम्, शामीलम्, कापोतम् औष्ट्रकम्. ऐणेयम्, कांस्यम्, पारशवम् ॥

Why do we say ञितः? Witness बैल्वमयं. Here मयट् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अण् of IV. 3. 136. So also बैदमयम् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्वतेष्ठञित्यत आरभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते विकारेऽतिदिश्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणादीनामपवादः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अण् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतम् = नैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikâra also, निष्कस्य विकारः = नैष्किकः formed by ठक् (V. 1. 20). As शतेनक्रीतं = शत्यं or शतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so शतस्य विकारः = शत्यः or शतिकः by ठन् and यत् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं = साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः = साहस्रः (V. 1. 27 by अण्) ॥

The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sûtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विनैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sûtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्राद्वुञ् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दाद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यञोपवादः ॥

157. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ush*tra*.

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-वा (वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाशब्दादूर्णाशब्दाच्च वा वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीशब्दाद् ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यञोपवादः ॥

159. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word एणी ॥

Thus ऐणेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐणम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । ओरञोपवादः ॥

161. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले तद्विशेषे विवक्षिते लुग् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + मयट् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobolans.' So also बदरम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

प्लक्षादिभ्योण् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । प्लक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अञोपवादः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम्, नैयग्रोधम् ॥

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 इङ्गुदी, 5 शिग्रु, 6 रुरु, 7 कक्षतु (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु ककतु) 8 बृहती. ॥

जम्ब्वा वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्ब्वाः-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बूशब्दात्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अञोपवादः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अञ् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बू + अञ् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्ब्वाः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । युक्तवद्भावे विशेषः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्प्रकरणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by lup after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sûtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बू + अञ्लुप् = जम्बूः, as, जम्बूः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्ब्वाः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

Vârt:—There is lup-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus व्रीहिः—व्रीहयः, यवाः, माषाः, मुद्गाः, तिलाः ॥

Vârt:—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, मल्लिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः; so also विदार्या मूलं = विदारी ॥ अंशुमती बृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, शाल्वानि मूलानि ॥ So कदम्बं पुष्पं, अशोकम्, करवीरम्, बैल्वानि फलानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुब् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने युक्तवद्भावे स्त्रीप्रत्ययश्रवणे च विशेषः ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Harîtakî' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फलं = हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फलं, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी) 5 दाडी, 6 दोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 ध्वाक्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा) 12 गर्भीका (गर्गरिका) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा* (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 दडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्-अञौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्क्रीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञञौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तत्संनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्लुग् भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्, and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansîya' and 'parasavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affiixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्यः so also पारशव from परशव्य thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ् = पारशवः ॥

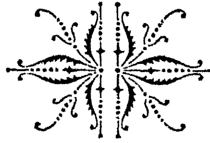
The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कम् is added first the Uṇâdi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस ; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर + शॄ is added the affix उ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and उ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकात् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sûtra ; so the elision will take place of those affixes only

which follow a prâtipadika. But स and उ are added to a Dhâtu and not a prâtipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word परशव्य being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140. The present sûtra teaches the elision only of its affix यत्, अञ् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कंसीय and परशव्य will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final य् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sûtra?

A. The final य् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्ठक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-वहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्वहति संशब्दनाद्यानर्थाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहेति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ आहौप्रभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गच्छतौ परदारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sûtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikâra sûtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sûtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sûtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sûtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षै र्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer.' अक्ष + ठक् = आक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

Vârt:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यशब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Vârt:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः, पार्याप्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

Vârt:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". साखरात्रिकः, सौखशायनिकः ॥

Vârt:—So also after परदार &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परदारान् गच्छति = पारदारिकः, गौरुतल्पिक ॥ The word तल्प here refers to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति जितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥ अभ्र्या खनति = आभ्रिकः, कौद्दालिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितं = आक्षिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word दैवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'dîvyati' &c, are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus आक्षिकौ and आक्षिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षैरदीव्यत् will give also आक्षिकः; so also आक्षिकस्त्वम् आक्षिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for sake of the next sûtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्ककारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोऽपवादः ॥

4. Ofter the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, दार्दभकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविकः, औडुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाट्ठञ् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छशब्दाद् ठञ्प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

6. The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus गौपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्व्यचष्ठन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-द्व्यचः-ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौशब्दाद् द्व्यचश्च प्रातिपदिकाद् ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेः । ठकोपवादः ॥

Kârika आकर्षात्पर्पादेर्भस्त्रादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।
अवासथात्किशरादेः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥

7. The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, घटिकः, प्लविकः, बाहुकः ॥

The ष in ष्ठन् in the sûtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ष् occurs in these sûtras only IV. 4. 9, 10, 18, 53 and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus दध्ना चरति = दाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, हास्तिकः 'who travels by an eliphant'. शाकटिकः ॥

आकर्षात्ष्ठल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षशब्दात् ष्ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

9. The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'âkarsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The ष of ष्ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sûtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् पर्पादेभस्त्रादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात्

किशरादिः षितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sûtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicatory 'sh.' Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक *f.* आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्पादिभ्यः ष्ठन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्पादिभ्यः, ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्प इत्येवमादिभ्यः ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix ष्ठन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ष for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्पिकः *f.* पर्पिकी, अश्विकः *f.* अश्विकी ॥ पदिकः *f.* पदिकी ॥ The पाद is changed to पद् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 पर्प, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पादः पद्य ॥

श्वगणाट्ठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वगणशब्दाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ष्ठन्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix ष्ठन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ठक् ॥. Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. *f.* श्वागणिकी ॥ ठन्, श्वगणिकः *f.* श्वगणिका ॥

The form श्वागणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, दाण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्ड: 5 जाल, 6 वेश (वेस), 7 उपवेश (उपवेष, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपदेश, 15 स्फिज्* (स्फिज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ*, 18 उपस्थान, 19 उपहस्त*, 20 स्रज्. ॥

वस्नक्रयविक्रयाट्ठन् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्नक्रयविक्रयशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः॥

13. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after-the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire--hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधशब्दाच्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठंश्च जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'âyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ठन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्ततीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्साङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औडुपिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उडुप्, 3 उत्पुत (उत्पत), 4 उत्पन्न*, 5 उत्पुट*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिटाक, 8 उडप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः ष्ठन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ष्ठन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ष्ठन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1. 41). So भरटिकः f. भरटिकी ॥ The

word भस्त्र means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c,. is carried.

1 भस्त्रा, 2 भरट, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 शीर्षभार, 5 शीर्षेभार, 6 अंसभार, 7 अंसेभार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधशब्दाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां विभाषा ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ष्ठन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vîvadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix ठक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is ठक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synomyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sûtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kâsikâ has added वीवध from a Vârtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थादण् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word **कुटिलिका** in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याधं = कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, द्यूतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षद्यूतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = आक्षद्यूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So जानुप्रहृतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षद्यूत, 2 जानुप्रहृत (°प्रहृत), 3 जङ्घाप्रहृत (°प्रहृत), 4 जङ्घाप्रहत*, 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत*, 8 गतागत, 9 यातोपयात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रेर्मम्नित्यम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्ताइत्येव, ड्वितः क्त्रिरित्ययं त्रिशब्दो गृह्यते । त्र्यन्तान्नित्यं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root डुपच् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पच्+क्त्रि+मप्=पक्त्रिमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from डुवप् we have वप्+क्त्रि+मप्=उप्त्रिमम् (VI. 1. 15): from डुकृञ् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

The word नित्य in the sûtra indicates that the affix क्त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् way be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vârt:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्तं=पाकिमम् (पच्+घञ् III. 3. 18+इमप्), so त्यागिमम्, सेकिमम्, कुट्टिमम् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तइत्येव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थात्संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट=दाधिकम् 'smeared wlth curds.' मारिचिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, पैप्पलिकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sansṛshṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । ठकोपवादः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chûrna' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽपूपाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणाल्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य ठको लवणशब्दाल्लुग् भवति ॥

24. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith', is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं शाकं, लवणा यवागूः (I. 1. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' मौद्गी यवागूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिक्ते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्य उपसिक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्तं = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौपिकम्, खारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं ओदनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवंपूर्वेभ्य ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्त्ततइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपं वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः 'favorable.' प्रातिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' प्रातिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वर्ततइत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = पारिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'.

The word च in the sûtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As पारिपार्श्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayîbhâva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then पारिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्त्तते," and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थात्प्रयच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद्द्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्वृधुषिभावो वक्तव्यः ॥

30. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in constrution, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i, e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थं 'for the sake of double'. Similarly त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vârt:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अधमर्णः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्ठन्ष्ठचौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, ष्ठन्-ष्ठचौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यमित्येव । कुसीदं वृद्धिः, तदर्थं द्रव्यं कुसीदम् । एकादशार्था दश, दशैकादशशब्देनोच्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकादशशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं ष्ठन् ष्ठच् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'daśaikâdaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश॥ This sûtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + ष्ठन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदकी (VI. 1. 41). So दशैकादशिकः fem °की ॥

उञ्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थादुञ्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus बदराण्युञ्छति = बादरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. श्यामाकिकः, काणिकः ॥ To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्रक्षतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'. So also सांनिवेशिकः ॥

शब्ददर्दुरं करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द्-दर्दुरम्,करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां शब्ददर्दुरशब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words '*S*abda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking'.

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So दार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मायूरिकः, तैत्तिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिकः, मैनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सौकरिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थात्तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sûtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sûtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sûtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sûtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुपदम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माथशब्दोत्तरपदात्प्रातिपदिकात्पदवी अनुपद इत्येताभ्यां च धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words 'padavî' and 'anupada'.

Thus दण्डमाथं धावति = दाण्डमाथिकः 'who runs on a high way'. So also शौल्कमाथिकः ॥ Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'.

आक्रन्दाट्ठञ्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो देशः । अथवा ऽऽक्रन्द्यतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तायनमुच्यते । विशेषाभावाद् द्वयोरपि ग्रहणम् । आक्रन्दशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्धावतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् ॥

38. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'âkranda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'.

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e. g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं धावति = आक्रन्दिकः or आँक्रन्दिकः, f. आक्रन्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदशब्द उत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदशब्दात् तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the *affix* बहु ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामशब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikantha', 'artha', and 'lalâma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayî-bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मं चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also आधर्मिकः "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vârtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठंश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, एति, ठन्-च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद् एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराट्ठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रैतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road". the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समवायवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sûtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming totgether. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, सामूहिकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषदं समवैति = पारिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix ण्य comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senâ.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus सेनां समवैति = सैन्यः or सैनिकः 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ललाटकुक्कुटीशब्दाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâ*t*a' and 'kukku*t*î', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus ललाटं पश्यति = लालाटिकः 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also कौक्कुटिकः 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called कौक्कुटिकः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

तस्य धर्म्यम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्ये (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं = शौल्कशालिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौल्मिकम् ॥

अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

48. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word 'mahishî' &c.

This debars ṭhak. Thus महिष्या धर्म्यं = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So प्राजावतम् ॥

1 महिषी, 3 प्रजापति*, 3 प्रजावती, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 यजमान.

ऋतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकादञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नराचेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुरिड्लोपश्च ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्णिलोपश्च ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus पोतु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potṛi.' औद्गात्रम् 'the office or duties of an Udgâtṛi.' Padamanjari gives the example of हौत्रम् = होतु धर्म्यम् under this sûtra, though the word होतृ occurs in the list given in the preceding sûtra. The Hotṛi of the preceding sûtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vârt:—So also after the word नर: As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word विशसितृ, the इट् affix being elided. Thus विशसितृ + अञ् = वैशस्त्रम् ॥

Vârt:—So also after the word विभाजयितृ, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितृ + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थादवक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus शुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः So also आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, आकरिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं पण्यं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

51. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपाः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः &c.

लवणाट्ठञ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

52. The affix ठञ comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्य ष्ठन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, ष्ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

53. The affix ष्ठन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य = किशरिकः f किशरिकी (IV. 1 41), नरदिकः f नरदिकी ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उशीर, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी.

शलालुनो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलालुशब्दादन्यतरस्यां ष्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतद्विषये । ठकोपवादः । पक्षेसोपि भवति ॥

54. The affix ष्ठन् comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' 'after the word 'salâlun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शलालु पण्यमस्य = शलालुकः *f.* शलालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक्, शालालुकः; *f.* शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठयर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शिल्पं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

55. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛidanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैणिकः ॥

मड्डुकझर्झरादणन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मड्डुक, झर्झरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मड्डुकझर्झरशब्दाभ्यामन्यतरस्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

56. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मड्डुकवादनं शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुकः or माड्डुकिकः, so झार्झरः and झार्झरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (ठक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं प्रहरणं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

57. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus असिः प्रहरणमस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So प्रासिकः, चाक्रिकः, धानुष्कः ॥

परश्वधाट्ठञ् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परश्वधात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्वधशब्दात् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् ठक् ॥

58. The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारश्वधिकः or पारश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्ट्योः, ईकक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

59. The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashti'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = शाक्तीकः, So also याष्टीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो ऽस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं मतिश्चेत्तद्भवति ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', nasti and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter *is.* Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं शीलं चेद्भवति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्विषये। ठकोऽपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्था occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुश्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्यश्छत्रवत् छाद्यः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्था (आस्था, संस्था, अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा, 7 तितिक्षा*, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (ऋषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत, 15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिबिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 उदस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)*, 20 विक्षा*, 21 चुक्षा*, 22 मन्द्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं कर्म चेद्वृत्तमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occuring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vrittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". Similarly द्वैयन्यिकः त्रैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्यिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैयन्यिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बह्वच्पूर्वपदाट्ठच् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बह्वच्, पूर्व पदात्, ठच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बह्वच् पूर्वपदं यस्य तस्माद् बह्वच्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ठच् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माध्ययने वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ॥

64. The affix ठच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus :—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्यिकः, चतुर्दशान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sûtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udâtta, or *vice versa*.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं चेत्तद्भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sûtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this *for whom* is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sûtras 65, and 66 in this wise: 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तं ॥ Thus अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौदकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाद् अस्मादिति चतुर्थ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं तच्चेद्दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आग्रभोजनिकः 'a Brâhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', शाष्कुलिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means नित्यं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

श्राणामांसौदनाट्टिठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्राणा-मांस-ओदनात्, टिठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्राणामांसौदनशब्दाभ्यां टिठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ठकोपवादः ।

67. The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words श्राणा and मांसौदन ॥

This टिठन् debars ठक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus श्राणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = श्राणिकः f. श्राणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसौदनिकः f. मांसौदनिकी ॥

The difference between ठक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udâtta on the final (VI, 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ठक् and टिठन् will both be formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix ठञ् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not ठञ् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words श्राणा and मांसौदन the affix ठञ् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix टिठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. But ठञ् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिठन् does not. Thus ओदन् + टिठन् = ओदनिकः, f. ओदनिकी ॥ With ठञ् the form would have been औदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word श्राणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of श्रा 'to cook.' The श्रा is not changed to शृ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthâ त is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form श्राता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is शृतं = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ठकोऽपवादः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भाक्तः ॥ In the alternative भाक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्तो ऽधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकरिकः, आपणिकः, गौल्मिकः, दौवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by II. I. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. I. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताट्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारशब्दान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाट्ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

70. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाददेशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्माशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आमावास्यिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe स्रुघ्नेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्णेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहराति ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहराति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दाभ्यां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kaṭhina

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया तां तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also व्राध्रकठिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, सांस्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nika*t*a.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic."

आवसथात् ष्ठल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-ष्ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । आवसथशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद् वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ष्ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The ल् of ष्ठल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-हितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागेतस्माद्धितसंशब्दनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो यत्प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sûtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथ्यः, युग्यः, प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गेभ्यो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नथ यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prâsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथ्यः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासंग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथ्य ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढृ therefore रथस्य वोढृ will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV.3.121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्यः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the krit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by क्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राजा कलिं द्वापरं वा ॥

धुरो यड्ढकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-ढकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः॥

77. The affix यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेयः (formed by ढक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sûtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिनधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर् (II. 1. 49), the samâsânta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sûtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-

ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sûtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

एकधुराल्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराशब्दाद्द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य लुग्भवति।

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurâ' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitârtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samâsânta अ, and then the affix ख ॥

शाकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढ = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशाकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीराट्ठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीरशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sîra,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, त्रैसीरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in contruction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus जनीं वहति = जन्यः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्याः 'a bridesmaid.' The word जनी means 'bride.' जन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c..

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विध्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चेद्धनुष्करणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैद्याः (VI. 3. 53) शर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these. चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुंविध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणशब्दाभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्धृ is formed from लभ् by तृन्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाण्णः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाल्लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशशब्दात्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशंगतः = वश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा समर्थविभक्तिः । पदशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थाद् दृश्यार्थोपाधिकादस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन्=पद्यः कर्दम 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पद्याः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

मूलमस्याबर्हि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबर्हि-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दात्प्रथमासमर्थादाबर्हीत्येवमुपाधिकादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । मूलमेषामाबर्हि ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबर्हि from वृहू 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,'=उत्पाटनं ॥ मूलमेषामावर्हि=मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा । मुद्गाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आबर्हि, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञाग्रहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding षुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udâtta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते ददामि ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया समर्थविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात्संयुक्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gârhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायां of the last sûtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (gṛihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gârhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be perforined in Dakṣhinâgni. Or that fire in which Gṛihapati hymns are recited is called Gârhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यसमसमित सम्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वध्य-अनाम्य-सम-समित-सम्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽष्टभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ऽष्टस्वेव तार्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sûtra धर्मादनपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वध्यः = विष्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ण्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which reguired यत्), means अभिभवनीयम 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mûlyam, the capital or mûla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सैत्यं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with according to Kâsika. सैत्यं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्यं, उत्तमसीत्यं, द्विसीत्यं ॥
8. तुलया सम्मितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. सम्मित means समानं, सदृशं ॥

Note :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prâpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmâd anapetam because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sûtra. The 'anapetam' in the next sûtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Shishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sûtra, as referred to by the word prâpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapeta of the next sûtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽनपेतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyâya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sûtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेतं = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रीयात् पथो यदनपेतं तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेतश्चोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायां (IV 4. 89) governs this sûtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sûtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = औरसः 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sûtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थात् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛidaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देशः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sûtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिग्रहणम् । बध्यते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थाद्बन्धने ऋषावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sûtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनं ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प कर्षेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यस्त्रिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्त्रिष्वेव करणादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य करणं=मैत्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैन्यः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैल्यः 'ploughed'. So also द्विहल्यः, त्रिहल्यः, the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sâma-Veda'. So also वेमन्यः, कर्मण्यः, शरण्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sûtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः खञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इदंयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन. ॥

भक्ताण्णः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाण् णः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः=भाक्तः शालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भाक्ता स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोण्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषदः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्शब्दाण् ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्ठक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः=काथिकः (कथा+ठक्=कथ्+ठक् VI. 4. 148=काथ्+इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा*, 4 संकथा*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ट विद्, कुष्ठाचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संग्रह (सङ्ग्रह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेद.. ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्ठञ् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guda &c.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः=गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौल्माषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संग्राम, 9 संघात, 10 संक्राम*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्ढञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः=पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

सभाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाद्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus सभायां साधुः=सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

ढश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दाड् ढः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥

106. The affix ढ comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabhâ,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars य ॥ Thus सभेयः in सभेयोस्य युवा यजमानस्य वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुरिति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थशब्दात्तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थाद्वासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samâna-tîrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्यः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, ओ-च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ओकारश्चोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्यः ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदरशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sûtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta, as it was in the last; the udâtta here falls on य ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणादीनां घादीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, घ &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words मेद्ध्यः and विद्युत्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो मेध्याय च विद्युत्याय च ॥ All the sûtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sûtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sûtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ड्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाथशब्दान्नदीशब्दाच्च ड्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ड्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pâthas' and 'nadî,' wherby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः = पाथ्यः, so also नाद्यः ॥ As in the following hymns: तमुत्वा पाथ्या वृषा, च नो दधीत नाद्यो गिरो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तशब्दाद्धिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus वैशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हैमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यड्ड्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ड्यत्-ड्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतश्शब्दाद्विभाषा ड्यत् ड्य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars यत् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः = स्रोत्यः or स्रोत्यः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ड causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When यत् is added the form is स्रोतस्यः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतशब्देभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayûtha' and sanuta.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्यः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासयूथ्यः 'a younger friend'. So also यो नः सनुत्यः उत वा जिघत्नु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घन् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुग्रशब्दाद् घन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घन् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus तुग्रियः as त्वमग्ने वृषभस् तुग्रियाणां ॥ Which assumes the form तुग्र्य tugrya also. As आवः शमम् वृषभं तुग्र्यासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुग्र means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

116. The afffx यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अग्रे भवं = अग्र्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for यत् would have come after अग्र by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that यत् is not debarred by घ and छ of the next sûtra, which would have been the case, had this sûtra not existed.

घच्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घच्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रशब्दाद्यत् घच्छौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अग्र्यम् (by यत्), अग्रीयम् (by छ) and अग्रियम् (by घच्). And अग्रियम् (by घन्) from IV. 4. 115. See Ṛ. V. I. 13. 10 (Sâyana) इहत्वष्टारमग्रियम् ॥

समुद्राभ्राद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुद्र-अभ्रात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रशब्दादभ्रशब्दाच्च घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus समुद्रियः and अभ्रियः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मनीषिणम् and नानदतो अभ्रियस्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः शब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाद्दत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in construction.

The anuvṛitti of तत्र भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु प्रियेषु ॥ R̥. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(य त्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्माणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'dûta' in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'. As यत्ते अग्ने दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूँत्यम्, but the accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयातूनां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यातूनाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यातुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yâtu' in the sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्यं and यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yâtus'. As याते अग्ने रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'. So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatî', 'jagatî' and 'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रेवत्यम्, जगत्यम्

and हविष्यम् 'praising of Revatî, Jagâtî or Havishya'. The word हविष्यम् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यम् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य् + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the य् being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थात्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवादः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुर्यम् 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्यं वा एतत् पात्रं यच्चक्रधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्यं देवेभिर्धायि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरशब्दात्षष्ठीसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविशेषे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = आसुरः feminine आसुरीं ॥ As आसुरी माया स्वधया कृतासि ॥

तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासु लुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वान्-आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मतुबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थादासामिति षष्ठ्यर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तदासामिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाश्चेत्ता भवन्ति । लुक् च मतोरिति प्रकृतिनिर्ह्रासः । इतिकरणस्ततश्चेद्विवक्षा । तद्वानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'matup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sûtra requires analysis. तद्वान् is formed by adding मतुप् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मतुप् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इदं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sûtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (âsâm), after a word which ends with matup (tadvân), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्या (वर्चस्वत् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix वत् (मतुप्) being elided = वर्चस्य, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपदधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvân mantra has been pronounced'. So तेजस्या उपदधाति ॥ So पयस्याः, रेतस्याः ॥

Why do we say तद्वान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम् 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इष्टकासु? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमानण् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विशब्दो यस्मिन्मन्त्रेऽस्ति सोऽश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimân, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनीरुपदधाति 'he collects Aśvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नः-मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhâna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मतुप् debars यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्धन्, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्धन्वान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्द्धन्वान् ॥ The present

sûtra ordains मतुप् after मूर्द्धन्वान् ॥ Thus मूर्द्धन्वतीरुपदधाति 'he collects Mûrdhanvatî bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्द्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्यासु ? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mûrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mûrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mûrdhan and vayas'.

The sûtra contains the word मूर्ध्नः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वतः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वत्, the वत् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वत्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मतुप् is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मतुब्विहितस्तस्मिंश्छन्दसि विषये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थ विशेषणयोः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तरार्थे वा ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुगकारेकाररेफाश्च वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मतुप् and those having the sense of मतुप् ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासे = नभस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः मधव्यः, being the names of the months Pausha (Nov-Dec), Phalguna (Feb-March) and Vaisâkha (April-May). The word मधव्यः is thus formed:---मधु + यत् = मधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = मधव्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly ओजस्या तनूः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमता पात्रेण चरति, here मतुप् is used.

Vârt:—The affix यत् is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As मध्वस्मिन्नस्ति मध्वस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = माधव्यः or माधवो मासः ॥

Vârt:—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and र serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नभस् or नभस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes र e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्ञ च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-ञ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुशब्दान्मत्वर्थे ञः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच ॥

129. The affix ञ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माधवः or मधव्यः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मधुः, all these mean the month of Vaisâkha. So also माधवाः, मधव्या and मधुः meaning तनूः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्खौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-खौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्खौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽहन्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and ख come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसीनं = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोयशसी आदी यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The afffix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yasas' in the beginning.

The ल् of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. I. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = वेशोभग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोभग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्तात्प्रातिपदिकान्मत्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिरासार्थ उत्तरार्थश्च । चकाराद्यत् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sûtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sûtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यल्खौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛitti of ख runs in the next sûtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वैः कृतमिनयौ च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वैः-कृत-इन-यौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । चकारात्ख च ॥

133. The affixes इन and य as well as ख come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) 'in the Instrumental case in construction.

The ख is read into the sûtra by force of the word च ; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्विणः 'made by the ancestors' i. e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वीणः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गम्भीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्विणेभिः ॥ So also, ये ते पन्थाः सवितः पूर्व्यासः (Rig I. 35. 11) Another reading of this sûtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनियौच; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य ; and ख will be drawn in by virtue of च ॥ The examples then will be पूर्विन्; 3rd pl. पूर्विभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्विभिः, or पूर्वीणैः (ख), or पूर्व्यैः (य) ॥

अद्भिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अद्भिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्शब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अप्यम् 'offering purified with water'. As यस्येदमप्यं हविः ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sûtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रशब्दात्तृतीयासमर्थात्सम्मिताइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra', in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sûtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रियासोऽपां नोर्मयः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word समित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रशब्दाद् घः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रमस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debars the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमशब्दाद्द्वितीयासमर्थादर्हतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सौम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brâhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमग्रहणं, यश्चानुवर्तते । मय इति मयडर्थो लक्ष्यते । सोमशब्दान्मयडर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारावयवप्रकृता मयडर्था ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix maya*t*.

The force of the affix मयट् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), विकारावयव (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मधोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशब्दो निवृत्तः । मधुशब्दान्मयडर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix maya*t*.

Thus मधव्यान् स्तोकान् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुशब्दात्समूहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारान्मयडर्थे च । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षरसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्थउपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुशब्दादपि यत्वक्तव्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of maya*t*.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vârt:—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस्यः in the following sentence: "सप्तदशाक्षरम्छन्दस्यः प्रजापतियज्ञो मन्त्रे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ श्रावय, four; अस्तु श्रौषट्, four; यज, two; ये यजामहे five; and वषट् two ॥

Vârt:—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As हस्तौ गृहीतस्य वहुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रात्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रशब्दाद्घः प्रत्ययो भवति स्वार्थे ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛitti of समूह does not extend to this sûtra. Thus नक्षत्रियेभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रेभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवात्तातिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तातिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वतातिम् and प्रदक्षिणिद्देवतातिमुराणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव,शम, अरिष्टस्य, करे (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तत्सामर्थ्यलभ्या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishta' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by अच् (III. I. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So शंतातिः and अरिष्टतातिः ॥ As याभिः शन्ताती भवथो ददाशुषे (Rig I. 112. 20) शंताती being dual of शन्तातिः, and meaning सुखस्य कर्तारौ; so also अथो अरिष्टतातये ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तातिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तातिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishta', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. शन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', अरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verbal nouns.



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